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10 November 1983

# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2228

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ALBANIA

HOXHA ACKNOWLEDGES BIRTHDAY GREETINGS

AU212046 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1700 GMT 21 Oct 83

[Message of thanks from Enver Hoxha, first secretary of the AWP Central Committee, for birthday greetings sent to him]

[Text] Very dear brothers and sisters, comrades, workers and cooperativists, working people in the party and the state, in the Democratic Front, in education, in culture, in the health service, and in science, activists of the Democratic Front, Heroes of the People, construction workers in the big projects, very dear parents and relatives of all those who fell in the struggle for the country's liberation, war veterans, comrade soldiers and cadres of the People's Army and of the organs of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, young people and young pioneers:

I have received a large number of letters and telegrams of congratulations from you and the collectives that you represent on the occasion of my 75th birthday. I thank you warmly and with particular respect. All the expressions of affection for me belong to the party, which illuminated my way and my mind. The great honor done to me by the party and your cordial appreciation and wishes have touched me very much, because, as a soldier of the AWP and son of the people, I have only done my duty, and I am still greatly indebted to them.

The joyful tidings from the production front have, as always, given me particular satisfaction. The work of our magnificent people, their enthusiasm and unity inspire me and give me new strength to work incessantly and untiringly, sparing nothing, for the good and glory of the people and of our beloved homeland, for our valiant and wise party.

I, too, wish you joy, happiness and success in the work entrusted to you by the people and the party to further promote the country's economic and cultural development, to further raise the well-being of our working people, and to make Albania as strong as possible, an inviolable fortress against the imperialist and revisionist enemies and their servants and instruments.

I have also received telegrams and letters of warm wishes and affection from compatriots living abroad, Kosovars, and others, in which they express ardent

feelings of patriotism and their great joy over the progress achieved by their beloved country in all fields under the leadership of our AWP and over the respect enjoyed today by socialist Albania throughout the world owing to our correct and courageous foreign policy. On this occasion, together with my thanks, I would like to convey to them my own best fraternal wishes. Our country always holds them dear and close to their hearts, just as they, too, hold the country close to their hearts and do not forget it.

I would also like to convey warm thanks to the friends and well-wishers of socialist Albania for their congratulations.

Dear comrades, together with my thanks, I also convey my own most cordial wishes to all the sons and daughters of this valiant and industrious people before whom I bow with confidence, respect and unlimited gratitude, and I again renew my pledge to struggle all my life for their lofty aspirations of freedom, independence, and prosperity for our socialist country, the happiness of its people and of all future generations.

Revolutionary greetings,  
Yours, Enver Hoxha  
Tirana, 21 October 1983

CSO: 2200/8

## ALBANIA

### HOXHA LETTERS TO TV, FILM COLLECTIVES

AU231431 Tirana ATA in English 0730 GMT 23 Oct 83

[Text] Tirana, 23 Oct (ATA)--The ceremony of the handing over of the letter of the beloved leader of the party and people, Comrade Enver Hoxha addressed to the working collective of the Albanian television, was organised in one of the studios of the radio-television yesterday before noon.

Attending were editors, film directors, cameramen, camera operators, film-cutters and other working people of radio-television.

Present was also the secretary of the district party committee Xhelil Gjoni.

Amidst the great joy of those present, the chief of the press sector at the Central Committee of the party, Dhimiter Tona read the letter of Comrade Enver Hoxha. It was received with powerful applause and acclamations.

The television, as every other thing in socialist Albania, is created by the party, says among others the letter of Comrade Enver Hoxha. It has been developed on the road and based on the rich experience of Radio-Tirana, the honourable veteran of our propaganda, which since the first days of liberation and on has made and is making a commendable work to reflect and propagate at home and abroad our struggle and work, the Marxist-Leninist voice of the party and the Albanian people.

The party has devoted a special care and attention also to the television alongside Radio-Tirana and has spared and will spare nothing for its development, for the technical perfection and for the enhancement of the ideological level of the cadres and the TV programs. But above all, the successes of the television are due to your work, passion, creative artistic fantasy, your efforts and mobilisation.

All see on the TV screen our beloved Albania with a rare natural beauty, which the hand and mind of our people are transforming into a miracle. This reality inspires and makes us optimistic, fills with pride our compatriots wherever they are, rejoices the numerous friends and well-wishers of socialist Albania.

Your programs reflect our life, which is full of creative work and enthusiastic efforts, the heroic history of the Albanian people, their struggle



for national and social freedom, the glorious road of our beloved party, the colossal transformations that have been made and are being made every day through the work of the people led with maturity and farsightedness by the party.

After thanking for the great evaluation the party made of their work, the general director of the radio television, Marash Hajati, expressed his conviction that the working people of this institution will increase even more their efforts to make radio-television an ever more powerful organ of the party propaganda.

Such a ceremony was organised yesterday too, in the "New Albania" film studio, on occasion of the handing over of the letter that Comrade Enver Hoxha has addressed to the working collective of this institution.

Amidst the joy of the producers, film directors, camera operators, and other members of the collective, the alternate member of the Central Committee of the party, Anastas Kondo read the letter which was received with applause and great enthusiasm.

I received the beautiful present you sent to me these days, the film "Memories on Gjirokastra", which I followed with special satisfaction, as well as the letter in which you informed me of the successes you have achieved in your noble work, the letter of Comrade Enver Hoxha says among others.

The work of the film producer is such that it lives through years and centuries, that is why the party has always evaluated the cinematography and has always devoted attention to it. Through your efforts, toil and creative passion, you have exploited the conditions, and the possibilities created for you and have made possible that this new art, born and grown entirely over the years of the party, forge ahead [words indistinct] deservedly side by side the literature and the other genres of our arts of socialist realism. [sentence as received]

With loyalty and skill you have shot and are shooting films, dear comrades, which reflect the militant and glorious history of our people, their struggle and efforts for freedom, progress and development. I thank you in particular for the fact that you, without neglecting the historical topic, have attached importance to the films on the topics which reflect the brilliant epoch of the party, the heroic national liberation war, the fundamental socialist transformations, the work and the colossal struggle of the party and the people to make the country, the life ever more beautiful, more flourished and more secure and the man even happier.

At a time when the bourgeois-revisionist cinematography is being corroded by the deep crisis, you, the Albanian film producers, are proving that when art is pervaded by the Marxist-Leninist ideology, when it is put in the service of the masses, of the revolution, as you have done with your art, it does not know crisis but it flourishes.

The director of the "New Albania" film studio, Vangjush Zallemi thanked for the great honour made to their collective and promised that the film producers will provide the people and the party with ever more beautiful works, of a higher ideo-artistic level.

CSO: 2020/24

LUKANOV SPEAKS AT TOURIST CONFERENCE OPENING

AU241923 Sofia BTA in English 1802 GMT 24 Oct 83

[Text] Sofia, 24 October (BTA)--Cooperation in the tourist sphere is an expression of the aspiration of the Balkan countries to build bridges of friendship between each other, Mr Andrey Lukanov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, emphasized today in his greetings address at the opening of the 16th conference of the Official Tourist Organisations and the 11th conference of the Associations of the Tourist Agencies of the Balkan countries. He pointed out that Bulgaria's foreign policy in the Balkans, in Europe and the world is active and constructive and is aimed at consolidating and extending the political, economic and cultural ties with the neighboring countries. The fruitful results of this policy are also obvious in the steady development of the tourist branch which makes an even greater contribution to Bulgaria's economy. Mr Andrey Lukanov emphasized that the conditions of developing tourism in the Balkan countries are supplementing each other, which is a premise for efficient cooperation in this field.

The conferences organized within the days of Balkan tourism in Sofia, are attended by heads of the official tourist organisations and of the tourist agencies of Greece, Rumania, Turkey, Yugoslavia, and Bulgaria. They will inform each other of the development of tourism in each country and will discuss the tourist ties existing between them. The results of the cooperation in the Balkan year of tourism will be reported. Also the venue and date will be fixed of the 17th conference of the Official Tourist Organisations and the 12th conference of the Associations of the Tourist Agencies.

The conferences close on 28 October.

CSO: 2200/16

BULGARIA

STANISHEV RECEIVES KAMPUCHEAN DELEGATION

AU251459 Sofia BTA in English 1430 GMT 25 Oct 83

[Text] Sofia, 25 October (BTA)--A delegation of the International Department of the CC of the People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea, led by the department's deputy chief and deputy-minister of foreign affairs of Kampuchea, Mr Phrak Sun, [spelling as received] is on a visit to Bulgaria.

The delegation was received by Mr Dimitur Stanishev, secretary of the CC of the BCP. During the talks which proceeded in a cordial and friendly atmosphere, there was exchanged information of the two parties' activity and of some questions related to the international communist and workers' movement. Both parties expressed full unanimity of views on all the questions discussed.

On behalf of the People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea and on behalf of the Kampuchean people the head of the Kampuchean delegation, Mr Phrak Sun, expressed gratitude for the aid and support the BCP and the Revolutionary Party and the Kampuchean people in their struggle for defending the revolutionary gains and for consolidating Kampuchea's independence.

On the Bulgarian part it was stressed that the BCP and Bulgaria will continue in the future to render full backing to the just struggle of Kampuchea for resisting the forces of expansionism, imperialism and war in the region of Southeast Asia.

There was confirmed the mutual striving for developing and deepening the relations of fraternal friendship, cooperation and solidarity between the BCP and the People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

The delegation was received also by Mr Lyubomir Popov, deputy-minister of foreign affairs.

CSO: 2200/16

ZHIVKOV RECEIVES SWAPO LEADER NUJOMA

AU171932 Sofia BTA in English 1832 GMT 17 Oct 83

[Text] Sofia, 17 October (BTA)--Mr Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the CC of the Bulgarian Communist Party and president of the State Council of Bulgaria, met here today Mr Sam Nujoma, president of the Southwest African People's Organization (SWAPO).

Special attention was paid to the problems of Africa and of the struggle for national liberation of the peoples of the African south.

Mr Nujoma told of the struggle of the people of Namibia and of the active international work of SWAPO aimed at the liquidation of the still continuing (with the active support of the United States of America) illegal occupation of that country by the South African racist regime, at the building of a free and democratic state.

On behalf of the CC of SWAPO he expressed sincere gratitude to the Bulgarian Communist Party and to Bulgaria for the help rendered to the people of Namibia and to SWAPO in their struggle for national independence.

Mr Todor Zhivkov highly assessed the successes achieved by the Namibian people under the SWAPO leadership in the struggle against the racists of the South African Republic. He denounced the attempts of the racists and of their Western allies to impose a neocolonial solution on the Namibian issue. Mr Tudor Zhivkov underlined again the position of the Bulgarian Communist Party and of Bulgaria that the power in Namibia should be completely ceded to SWAPO--the sole legitimate representative of the Namibian people, and reaffirmed the invariable solidarity of the Bulgarian people with the just struggle of the people of Namibia.

Mr Todor Zhivkov and Mr Sam Nujoma condemned decisively the aggressive policy of the most reactionary militaristic circles in the United States and their Western allies, which draws mankind nearer to the edge of a nuclear catastrophe. They stressed that the most important task facing peoples at present, facing all the progressive and peace-loving forces in the world is to defuse the threat of a nuclear war, to halt the arms race, to ensure the development of all countries under the conditions of peace and security.

A high assessment was given to the constructive peace initiatives of the Soviet Union and of the other member-states of the Warsaw Treaty.

A complete support was expressed for the evaluations and the conclusions contained in the declaration made by Mr Yuriy Andropov of 28 September 1983.

Mr Todor Zhivkov and Mr Sam Nujoma reaffirmed their determination to expand and further deepen the relations between the Bulgarian Communist Party and the South West African People's Organization in the interests of the unity of the anti-imperialist and anti-colonial forces in the world, in an effort to do away with the last remnants of colonialism, racism, apartheid, and for security and social progress in the world.

CSO: 2200/16

GREEK DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER HOLDS TALKS

AU191913 Sofia BTA in English 1830 GMT 19 Oct 83

[Text] Sofia, 19 October (BTA)--Consultations of the Ministries of Foreign Affairs of Bulgaria and Greece were held here from 17 to 19 October.

The Bulgarian delegation was led by Mr Ivan Ganev, deputy-minister of foreign affairs, and the Greek delegation by Mr Karolos Papoulias [spelling as received], deputy-minister of foreign affairs.

A wide range of topical international problems of mutual interest were discussed at the consultations and the state and development of Bulgaro-Greek relations were reviewed in detail.

In the analysis of the international situation the two sides expressed the grave concern of their governments over the growing threat for the world peace, proceeding from the course of confrontation and especially from the eventual deployment of new nuclear missiles in some West European countries, which will mean a new step in the arms race with dangerous consequences for mankind.

Special attention was paid to the situation in the Balkans. Reaffirming the readiness of their countries to proceed with the efforts aimed at the consolidation of the climate of trust, understanding, goodneighbourliness and mutually advantageous cooperation with the states in the region, the delegations emphasized the topicality and importance of the idea of converting the Balkans into a zone free of nuclear weapons. Stressing that the realization of this idea would help consolidate peace and security in the region, would be a great contribution on the part of the Balkan countries to the healthifying of the international climate and an important step along the road towards gradual clearing of Europe from the nuclear arms, the two sides expressed the determination of their countries to work tirelessly for its practical realization.

It was stated with satisfaction that Bulgaro-Greek relations are developing along ascending lines imbued with mutual trust, understanding and goodneighbourliness. These relations are a significant factor for the consolidation of peace, security and cooperation in the Balkans and in Europe.

## BRIEFS

GREEK DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER--Sofia 17 October (BTA)--The minister of foreign affairs of Bulgaria, Mr Petur Mladenov, received the deputy minister of foreign affairs of Greece, Mr Carlos Papulyas [spelling as received], who is visiting Sofia for consultations between the Ministries of Foreign Affairs of Bulgaria and Greece. At the meeting, which proceeded in an atmosphere of friendship, trust and understanding, traditional for the exchanges between the two countries, there were shared views on the state and the prospects of Bulgaro-Greek relations and on some topical international problems concerning the situation in Europe and in the Balkans. [Text] [AU171933 Sofia BTA in English 1850 GMT 17 Oct 83]

AMBASSADOR TO FRG PRESENTS CREDENTIALS--On 18 October Karl Carstens, FRG president, received Georgi Eftimov, the new Bulgarian ambassador to the FRG, who presented his credentials. The ceremony was attended by Alois (Merkes), state minister at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and responsible officials of the Bulgarian Embassy. [Excerpts] [AU201140 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 18 Oct 83]

NEW BANGLADESH AMBASSADOR--Mahbubul Haq, newly appointed ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the People's Republic of Bangladesh to the People's Republic of Bulgaria, has arrived in Sofia. [Text] [AU201140 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 18 Oct p 6]

NEW MAURITANIAN AMBASSADOR--Yehdhih Ould Sidi Ahmed, newly appointed ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania to the People's Republic of Bulgaria, has arrived in Sofia. [Text] [AU201140 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 18 Oct 83 p 6]

THANK-YOU TELEGRAM TO ZHIVKOV--Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council, has received the following telegram from Kim Il-Song, secretary general of the Korean Workers Party [KWP] Central Committee and president of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea [DPRK]. I express my deep gratitude for the most cordial congratulations and wishes conveyed to you on behalf of the BCP Central Committee, the State Council, and Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and on behalf of the Bulgarian people, as well as on your own behalf on the occasion of the 35th anniversary of the DPRK. I take advantage of this opportunity to express our confidence that the relations of fraternal cooperation existing between our two parties, countries and peoples will continue



even more to expand and develop in the future, and with all my heart I wish you and the fraternal Bulgarian people even greater successes in the struggle for building a developed socialist society in your country. [Text] [AU191620 RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 18 Oct 83 p 6]

THANK-YOU TELEGRAM FROM LIBYA--Grisha Filipov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, has received a telegram from Jadallha 'Aziz at-Talhi, secretary general of the General People's Committee of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah, which expresses gratitude for the congratulations conveyed on behalf of the 14th anniversary of the 1 September Revolution. The telegram expresses best wishes for the Bulgarian people's upsurge and prosperity. [Text] [AU191619 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 18 Oct 83 p 6]

TECHNOLOGICAL COOPERATION TALKS--Todor Bozhinov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member, first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of metallurgy and natural resources, yesterday received Gyula Szeker, president of the Hungarian Technical Development Committee. They discussed issues of further expanding and deepening the scientific-technical cooperation between the two countries on the basis of the June 1983 agreements reached between the party-government delegations of Bulgaria and Hungary led by Comrades Todor Zhivkov and Janos Kadar. Nacho Papazov, chairman of the State Committee for Science and Technical Progress, as well as representatives of the Hungarian Embassy in Sofia also attended the friendly talks. [Text] [AU]11052 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 20 Oct 83 p 6]

BTA AGREEMENT WITH NOTIMEX--Mexico City, 22 October (BTA correspondent)--Today Mr Boyan Traykov, director general of the Bulgarian Telegraph Agency, who is paying a working visit to Mexico, had a meeting with Mr Hector Manuel Ezeta, director general of the News Agency of Mexico NOTIMEX. They discussed the chances for the exchange of information between the two agencies and expressed their willingness to spell the beginning of a cooperation in a journalistic and technical aspect in agency work. Mr Traykov and Mr Ezeta stressed that such a cooperation would have contributed to the further mutual acquaintance and closeness between the peoples of Bulgaria and Mexico. The leaders of the two news agencies signed an agreement which provides for concrete measures for cooperation and exchange of experience. [Text] [AU231451 Sofia BTA in English 1835 GMT 22 Oct 83]

PUBLICATION OF ZHIVKOV LECTURES--The Party Publishing House has issued to mass circulation the second part of a series of lectures given by Comrade Todor Zhivkov to the students and teachers of the Academy of Social Sciences and Social Administration attached to the BCP Central Committee. The second series of lectures inaugurated the present school year of the academy. The first three lectures read to the same audience were published by PARTIZDAT in July 1983. In the fourth lecture the series of Comrade Todor Zhivkov analyzes certain problems connected with the share of the intellectual sphere in building a developed socialist society in Bulgaria. The development and perfection of the political system of socialist society in our country--a historical achievement of the Party's April line--is the subject of the fifth lecture. In his sixth lecture Comrade Todor Zhivkov deals with enhancing the role of

the BCP for the perfection of its political and ideological work. The aforementioned three lectures are issued in separate volumes. [Text] [AU231451 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 21 Oct 83]

TANCHEV RECEIVES THAI DEPUTY PREMIER--Sofia, 22 October (BTA)--Today Mr Petur Tanchev, secretary of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party and first vice president of the State Council, received a delegation of the Democratic Party of Thailand, led by the party's leader, Mr P. Rattachkun, deputy prime minister of the country. The Thai delegation is visiting Bulgaria at the invitation of the Standing Committee of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party. In the exchange of views on topical problems of the international relations, alarm was voiced over the persisting and dangerous tension in the world and it was stressed that detente and disarmament are the sole alternative to the nuclear war menace. The two parties spoke in favour of the normalization of the relations between the states in South-East Asia, of the easing of tension, in favour of peace and cooperation in this explosion-prone part of the world. They pointed also to the two parties' wish for the development of ties between the Bulgarian Agrarian Party and the Democratic Party of Thailand. [Text] [AU222017 Sofia BTA in English 1854 GMT 22 Oct 83]

LUKANOV RECEIVES THAI DEPUTY PREMIER--Sofia, 21 October (BTA)--Today the Deputy Minister of the Ministerial Council, Mr Andrey Lukanov, received the Leader of the Democratic Party of Thailand and Deputy Prime Minister of the country, Mr Phichai Rattakun, who is visiting the country at the invitation of the Bulgarian Agrarian Union. Thoughts were exchanged in connection with the development of commercial and economic relations between Bulgaria and Thailand. [Text] [AU212016 Sofia BTA in English 1852 GMT 21 Oct 83]

CSO: 2200/16

CAPABILITIES OF ADVANCED ATTACK HELICOPTER DESCRIBED

East Berlin VOKSARMEE in German No 39, 1983 (signed to press 19 Sep 83) p 8

[Article by Lt Col Peter Baer: "The Mi-24D Attack Helicopter"]

[Text] Using the successful Mi-8 helicopter and its Mi-8 TB combat version as models, the Soviet design office Mil has created the Mi-24 attack helicopter. By applying the most up to date aerodynamic research in helicopter technology and by incorporating more efficient engines, the different versions of the Mi-24 attack helicopter have become a highly effective weapon system since the early 1970's. Its delivery to the armed forces went hand in hand with qualitative changes in the tactical use of helicopters.

The NVA's air force has been using the Mi-24 D attack helicopter since the end of the 1970's because of the high performance reserve power of its power plant and its improved aerodynamic features, it is more maneuverable and has greater speed and altitude capabilities than the Mi-8 TB helicopter. It is particularly suitable for surprise attacks from concealment, whereby its great speed and narrow silhouette protect it against enemy counterattack. The Mi-24 D attack helicopter is in use in all Warsaw Pact countries and, in addition, in several armies of other friendly states.

Operational Use

The Mi-24 D is primarily intended for use as an attack helicopter. Additionally, it may be used for transport and medical purposes. As a transport helicopter it can accommodate freight in the baggage compartment or externally. Its main use in the transport configuration is in carrying airborne units. Eight soldiers with full equipment can be accommodated in the freight compartment. The windows in that compartment tilt outward and are equipped with devices to support infantry weapons; thus the soldiers can open fire laterally while the helicopter is in flight.

In its medical configuration, the helicopter can accommodate four wounded personnel in the freight compartment. With its communications facility, it can receive emergency radio signals from wounded personnel and can proceed to their evacuation.

For its attack helicopter mission, the Mi-24 D is equipped with armament possessing great firepower and accuracy. The helicopter's armament accomplishes the following tasks:

- fire support to ground troop actions in the combat zone;
- destruction of enemy tanks and motorized infantry enroute and in assembly areas;
- defensive fire during landing of airborne tactical troops and support for their action;
- joint action with ground troops in destroying gun emplacements and fortified areas, as well as in fighting enemy airborne units.

To accomplish these missions, the Mi-24 D has the following armament:

1. Guided missiles: PALR [antitank guided missiles] Launching pods for this purpose are located at the wing tips. Each is equipped with two parallel guidance tracks for launching the PALRs.
2. Unguided missiles: four rocket containers attached below the wings, each containing 32 unguided rockets.
3. Machine-gun system: consists of a movable machinegun support with a modern multibarrel rapid fire machine-gun.
4. Bombing capability: it permits concurrent carrying of bombs of different calibers. They are attached to special racks below the wings.

A mix of guided and unguided missiles and bombs is feasible. An on-board computer is used to calculate ballistic parameters, to direct navigational signals while firing the machine-gun and while dropping bombs.

The weapon system can be operated from either cabin.

#### Construction Details

The Mi-24 D attack helicopter is built in the traditional shape of a single-rotor helicopter with a three-bladed stern propeller to compensate for rear-end oscillation.

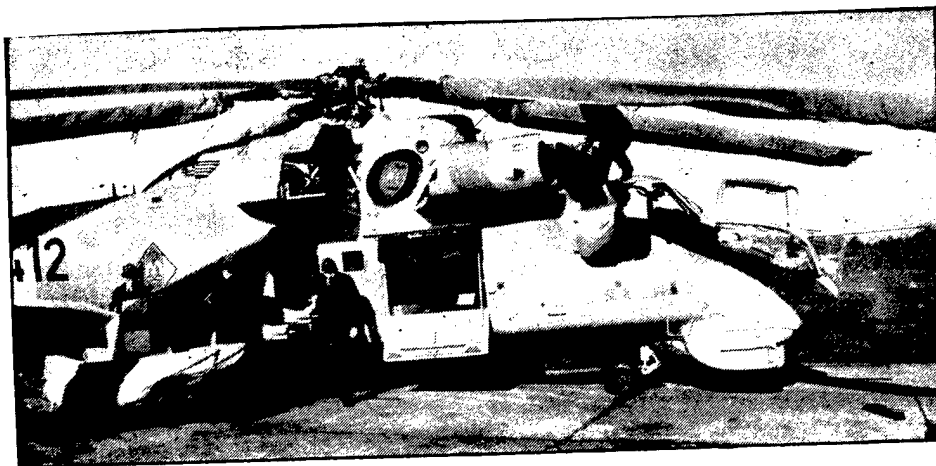
It has a three-wheeled landing gear with a rear hook. Upward and forward movement is achieved with a five-bladed freely rotating rotor.

Propellers and generators are powered by two helicopter gas turbine power plants.

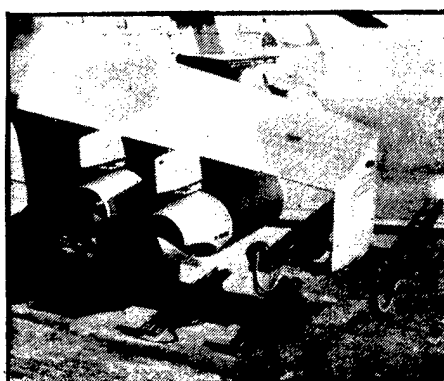
The helicopter can be piloted from either cabin; this is done by using hydraulic power amplification.

The cabins and the freight compartment can be hermetically sealed. By using the air conditioning system, positive pressure can be created in the sealed area, thus permitting combat action in chemically contaminated or radioactive terrain.

The Mi-24 D attack helicopter has modern special electronic, radio and radar equipment appropriate for complex combat situations. Among this equipment is an automatic pilot and a Doppler navigation device for measuring the helicopter's speed vector, for navigation and for determining the location of the helicopter. This facilitates the helicopter pilot's tasks of piloting and navigation to a significant degree, especially during inclement weather conditions.



Hatches on both sides give access to the freight compartment.



Launch rails for the antitank missiles (PALR) and unguided rocket racks.

9273  
CSO: 2300/43

POLEMIC OVER SCHAFF ARTICLE IN TU I TERAZ CONTINUES

Marx Misinterpreted by Schaff

Warsaw TU I TERAZ in Polish No 30, 27 Jul 83 p 5

/Article by Ryszard Gradowski: "Several Remarks on the 'Neglected Anniversary'; cited article by Schaff in TU I TERAZ No 11, 16 Mar 83 published under the title "Scholar Views Socialist Revolutions As Non-Marxist" in JPRS 84097, 11 Aug 83 No 2182 of this series, pp 43-49

/Text/ Prof Adam Schaff, after a long hiatus of several, or a dozen or so years, has published articles on the subject of the causes of the present crisis in Poland and the preceding ones. In one of the articles (TU I TERAZ No 11) he deals with theoretical, historical-philosophical considerations on the subject of the sources of the present and past social and economic difficulties in Poland. In the other (TU I TERAZ No 14) he writes about the past of higher party education in Poland, and primarily about the IKKN /Institute for Training Scientific Cadres/ and the INS /Social Sciences Institute/ under the PZPR Central Committee.

In my opinion, Schaff really idealizes the past and tries to present a picture of IKKN-INS in what are definitely too bright and beautiful colors. In reading A. Schaff's conclusions, I am reminded of Marx's formulation on the subject of the so-called refined consciousness of people, whose nature "it is to be always satisfied with themselves and in their imagination to rejoice in recognition everywhere." And as Marx recalls Hegel's opinion, "this consciousness deals not with what is most elevated, but rather with what is lowest, namely itself." (K. Marx-F. Engels, "Works," vol 9, p 559).

A. Schaff, a member of the party's Central Committee at that time, has every reason to idealize the institution of which he was the director and later the rector. Of course! He even considers it a model, worthy of revival and imitation. He writes: "Today we need something along the lines of the INS...", and speaking more specifically, "simply a new version of the INS." In another place he writes, "A school like a revived INS, as a school for training scientific cadres (and thus more an IKKN than an INS) is necessary." ("The Neglected Anniversary," TU I TERAZ No 14).

Thus, as someone who was virtually at the IKKN's cradle, a former graduate student and later prorector of the IKKN-INS, I should be permitted to exercise my moral right and state my views on the subject of the nature and role of this higher type of party school, and the issue of reviving it today.

The IKKN-INS was a party school, which was one of the important elements of the party education system in Poland. It was essentially a party doctoral program.

It is, of course, difficult to reach an unambiguous assessment of party education as a source of new young cadres of the worker-peasant intelligentsia. Like every social phenomenon, it contains internal contradictory elements, positive and negative, which are mutually antagonistic and make an unambiguous assessment more difficult.

This is because, on one hand, it was an educational system that was an institution of the party--the guiding force of the people. It trained new cadres for the intelligentsia, supplying the party apparatus, the state apparatus, higher education, union bodies, social institutions in Poland, etc.

The numerous graduates of the PZPR Central Committee's IKKN-INS are today's and yesterday's ministers, scientific workers at higher schools, party and social activists, etc.

Next, an institution like IKKN-INS was probably the first scientific institution in the Polish People's Republic that prescribed major Marxist studies, based on a diligent study of the classics, i.e., the works of Marx, Engels, and Lenin.

The subject matter of the graduate (doctoral) studies undertaken at that time at the IKKN-INS deserves attention. These were broad cross-sectional studies, requiring knowledge, erudition, and a general familiarity with scientific methodology from the writer. They can serve as a model for many contemporary subjects for doctoral theses, which are frequently exiguous and do not require the doctoral candidates to have a thorough knowledge and a comprehensive education.

All of this corresponds to the truth and deserves the highest recognition. There is another side to the problem, however, of which A. Schaff speaks very casually, as if he wanted to conceal it from his readers and keep it quiet.

The party educational system after 1948 operated under special conditions, and what the party was like, its programs and methods, determined what the educational system was like. Here is how a researcher, a sociologist of this period, describes these conditions:

"And thus, the PPR [Polish Workers' Party] and the PPS [Polish Socialist Party] were united and the PZPR was formed with a platform of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. It adopted a program for building the foundations of socialism, and started carrying it out. It initiated a large-scale offensive and an establishment of Marxism-Leninism in the country's intellectual life and in social awareness: in liberal arts, in education and training, in cultural life, publishing houses, etc. It also put forward a politically correct and

socially bearable program for the socialist industrialization of the country as an essential condition for the progress of civilization and society and to ensure the country's defensive capability and its independence."

This was one side of the period after 1948. And the other side? Let us listen to the sociologist's exposition further.

"At the same time, however, this was Marxism-Leninism in a Stalinist form, understood schematically and domatically. The ideological life of the PZPR in the first half of the 1950's was burdened with a theoretically incorrect and politically harmful thesis of a rightwing nationalist deviation in the party. Legality was violated in political practice, and the framework of socialist democracy was restricted. The collectivization of agriculture, carried out by administrative methods, did not yield positive results." (Stefan Dziabala, "Deformacja w mechanizmach funkcjonowania partii marksistowsko-leninowskiej" /Distortion in the Mechanisms of the Functioning of the Marxist-Leninist Party/, Warsaw 1982, copyright: PZPR Central Committee Higher School of Social Sciences, pp 6-7).

It was under such conditions that the party educational system was formed. There is thus nothing surprising in the fact that it was pervaded with a spirit of dogmatism and an ossification of thought. The role of arbiters was performed by the scientific workers of IKKN-INS, who shortly afterwards were in the front ranks of the "reformers" and were ready to condemn everything that they had uncritically advocated the day before.

The Marxism of that time lacked what is most fundamental to it, namely the revolutionary criticism that was typical of the science of Marx and Engels. Instead, it assumed the pragmatic and accepting nature that was required for theoretical approval of the erroneous socioeconomic policy of several individuals in the party leadership, headed by Hilary Minc, Roman Zambrowski, and Jakub Berman.

This necessarily had a negative effect on the entire teaching and scientific process, which was also dogmatized, of the party educational system at the time, including the IKKN-INS as well. Many ideologists of that period in the party educational system, and also in the INS, only changed their position toward the end of the 1950's, adopting, however, an attitude of complete denial of the achievements of socialism and of total criticism of it. They crowned their open views by shifting to positions of anti-communism, already foreign to the country, to which after all they owed their scientific advances and titles.

And it is not enough here to acknowledge half-humorously that these dissidents were "...swept out of the country, while many of them donned the uniforms of 'renegades'" (A. Schaff--"The Neglected Anniversary," TU I TERAZ No 14), because there were too many of them and they played too great a role in what was after all the central party school under the party's Central Committee. Every trip they made abroad was an act of demonstration against the party and the state. It is sufficient here to recall the names of such "theoreticians" of Stalinist theories as Wlodzimierz Brus, Leszek Kolakowski, Karol Lapler, Bronislaw Baczko, Boleslaw Drukier, Gabriel Temkin, and many others. And the regret expressed by A. Schaff is not enough here: "...it is just a pity that several of the bright people emigrated."



Perhaps the matter requires a deeper analysis and the development of a substantive, cold assessment of the INS at that time--an assessment free of personal emotions, taking things with a grain of salt, since it is necessary to answer the question of how it happened that so many educators and professors at the party school of these "bright people," as A. Schaff writes, could so lightly and easily join the camp of the sworn enemies of the Polish People's Republic. They harmed and are presently harming the interests of the Polish People's Republic.

And now a few words on the historical-philosophical considerations by A. Schaff contained in TU I TERAŻ No 11 of 16 March.

A. Schaff correctly--it would seem--asserts that what is responsible for the present state of affairs in Poland is not Marxism, "but the opposite--conduct conflicting with its injunctions," and that "...poor practice has falsified Marxism as a theory...."

In another place we read that "...the failure of the architects of the socialist revolutions to date to fulfill Marx's conditions necessarily led to the weaknesses and difficulties of these revolutions. But what is responsible for this is not Marxism, but conduct conflicting with its injunctions." A. Schaff concludes, "It is thus not a crisis of Marxism but of Marxists."

But let us go further with A. Schaff's line of thought. What did these "unfulfilled conditions of Marx's" actually consist of in Poland? After all, Marx stated--as A. Schaff recalls--that "a condition for carrying out a socialist revolution is the possibility of distributing prosperity immediately after the revolution, or of carrying out revolutions simultaneously in the crucial countries." Next, as Schaff writes, "Engels said that a condition for the victory of socialism is the existence of a highly developed working class that would be capable of managing society and the state at the level required by modern technology." The conclusion that is derived from this, in A. Schaff's opinion, is the impossibility and lack of recommendations for a socialist revolution in the countries in which the above-mentioned conditions have not become ripe, and thus allegedly in Poland as well. Thus, in spite of Marx's injunctions, the communists should not have taken power in those countries, including Poland. That is A. Schaff's conclusion.

A. Schaff's commentary on the opinion of Marx and Engels allows formulating such a conclusion: "It is obvious," Schaff writes, "that this does not mean a prohibition against any revolution if these conditions are not met, but only a socialist revolution...." /Last two words emphasized in original./

Thus, we should not have falsified the injunctions of Marxism and taken power in 1944, contrary to Marx's alleged prohibition. This is the conclusion that one must reach after reading A. Schaff's considerations.

He cites the statement by Marx and Engels in "German Ideology." Specifically, on page 37 of that work, contained in volume 3 of the works of Marx and Engels, they wrote that "...the development of productive forces... is an absolutely necessary practical prerequisite, since without it only scarcity would become universal, and together with poverty, the struggle for the necessities would

have to begin again and all of the old wretchedness would return." Marx and Engels further stated--A. Schaff does not call attention to this--that "...people have become free every time to the extent that they were led and permitted to do so, not by their ideal of man, but rather by the existing productive forces." (vol 3, pp 489-490).

That is what Marx and Engels wrote in their early work, in the years 1845-1846. These manuscripts were not published while Marx and Engels were alive, however.

The thing is, however, that it is not possible to comment on and interpret these formulations today without taking into account the later statements and explanations by Marx, Engels, and also Lenin. A. Schaff does not go back to those, because he thinks that the ones he cited are sufficient to justify the thesis of our country's backwardness and the absence in it of the conditions for the communists to take power and build socialism, and of whether only suitable circumstances exist in which "all of the old wretchedness" has to return. As a consequence of this comes the apparent weakness of the Polish left, and as a result it becomes necessary to establish a new IKKN to train communists in Poland.

This is not the place to analyze the overall socioeconomic situation of interwar Poland. As I have already tried to show in my books devoted to this, the whole socioeconomic structure of Poland, and especially the strength and concentration of the working class in large centers, made interwar Poland a country ripe for revolution. And today, after the Polish People's Republic has existed for many years, one should not cite Marx's alleged prohibition against carrying out a socialist revolution in countries like Poland after the period of World War II.

It must be admitted that A. Schaff in both of his above-mentioned articles uses language that is politically more moderate than in his work published in 1982 by the publishing house Europaverlag in Vienna, under the title of "Ruch komunistyczny na rozdrożu" /The Communist Movement at the Crossroads/.

In this book he expresses solidarity with Eurocommunism, trying to contrast Lenin's views to the science of Marx and Engels.

What then does he claim in this book?

Well, in the first place, that the socialist system in Poland arose contrary to Marx's admonitions; and in the second place, that in this situation, not having broad social support, the new government in Poland allegedly had to base itself on physical force, and in some cases on terror against society, and that in connection with this, socialism was imposed on Poland by force. In the third place, he claims that this is precisely the reason for the necessity of expanding the state as an apparatus for exerting psychological pressure--externally and internally.

Let us add to this the fact that in this "state of psychological pressure and terror" Schaff played a quite significant role, and agreed that the so-called "massacres" of opponents are a correct development of the socialist system.

That is the source of A. Schaff's practical conclusions regarding the liquidation of the leading role of the party, the establishment of other parties, and general changes in the system created in Poland, which was allegedly adapted to specifically Russian conditions.

Marx and Engels were far from adhering to the letter of dead texts, even those written by themselves, when they conflicted with eternally developing reality. As people, they sometimes made mistakes, but they were not dogmatic. Starting in the beginning of the 1850's, they wrote and spoke constantly about the approaching revolution in Europe, which would probably come about "...as a result of a general commercial and industrial crisis..." (vol 9, p 112). That is what Marx wrote in May 1853. Somewhat later, in August 1853, Marx wrote about the "great social revolution" in Europe (vol 9, p 252). In September of that year, he predicted approaching "economic disasters and social upheavals," constituting a "prelude to a European revolution" (vol 9, p 361). It appears from the context of these formulations that this had to do with a socialist revolution.

In 1983, in the preface to the Italian edition of "The Communist Manifesto," F. Engels stated that in any case "the revolution of 1848 was not a socialist revolution; it outlined the path for one and prepared the ground for it." At present, he stated, a new "proletarian era" was commencing (vol 22, p 443-444).

Perhaps nothing characterizes Marx and Engels as much as their enthusiasm at the news of the formation of the Paris Commune. No one after Marx made such a comprehensive and profound analysis of its role and nature as an institution of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Finally, one should also recall F. Engel's introduction to K. Marx's work "Class Struggles in France 1848-1850." In this introduction, written by Engels in 1895, he briefly outlines a theory of the development of a bourgeois revolution into a socialist revolution (vol 22, pp 609-631). Marx and Engels joyfully welcomed any glimmer of a revolutionary movement.

Finally, one should point out the practical recommendation for the working class contained in such a fundamental document as "The Communist Manifesto." "The proletariat," we read, "uses its political dominance for wresting all capital from the hands of the bourgeoisie, step by step, in order to centralize all instruments of production in the hands of the state, i.e., in the hands of the proletariat organized as a ruling class, and in order to increase the mass of the productive forces as quickly as possible." ("The Communist Manifesto," Warsaw 1948, p 109).

Isn't this the way that the revolutionary forces proceeded in Poland after the working class gained power? Just what is the theoretical basis for justifying today an absence of the conditions for the communists to take power and build the foundations for socialism?

It is evident that even during the lives of Marx and Engels, all the conditions existed for weighing the practical possibilities for a socialist revolution. Then how can one advance the thesis today that Marx and Engels "prohibited a socialist revolution" in the 20th century?

After all, Lenin, just at the beginning of the 20th century, stated, on the basis of the law of unequal development discovered by him, the possibility of the victory of a socialist revolution only in certain countries that did not at all belong to the group of the most economically developed ones. (See, for example Lenin, "On the Slogan of the United States of Europe," vol 21, pp 357-361).

And in spite of this, Engels wrote that "...the communist revolution will not be an exclusively national one, but will take place simultaneously in all civilized countries, i.e., at least in England, America, France, and Germany." "It is a universal revolution, and therefore its field of action will also be universal." (Marx and Engels, "Works," vol 4, p 413).

History has thus corrected certain individual formulations of Marx and Engels, and made its own corrections in them.

Why then go back at this time to the discarded formulations of Marx, which dealt with a different historical period, and were after all modified by Marx and Lenin during a subsequent stage of development and verified by the course of later events?

This "economic unripeness" of countries to accept socialism is after all today an argument in the hands of all anticommunist forces in the world. But this is what Lenin wrote about this argument as far back as 1918:

"...It would be a fatal error to declare that since the lack of harmony between our economic forces and our political strength was recognized, 'in view of this' we should not have taken power. That is what is thought by the 'people in boxes' who forget that there will never be any 'harmony,' that it cannot exist either in the development of nature or in the development of society, and that it is only through several attempts--of which each one taken separately will be one-sided and suffer from a certain lack of harmony--that full socialism will be formed from the revolutionary cooperation of the proletariat of all countries." (Lenin, "Works," vol 27, pp 356-357).

On another occasion Lenin pointed out that socialism does not necessarily have to be victorious in the countries that are most developed economically. He wrote that "the leading role of the proletariat of Russia in the worldwide workers movement cannot be explained by the country's economic development. Precisely the contrary--by Russia's backwardness, and the inability of the so-called native bourgeoisie to cope with the enormous tasks...--all of this aroused the proletariat to seize political power and to institute its own class dictatorship." (Lenin, "Works," vol 27, p 571).

A different, genuine, and very important question is the question of preparing the working class for the difficult art of governing the state and the economy. Extensive knowledge and practical abilities are required for this, since "...just because a class is at the forefront today it does not become capable of governing at once." (Lenin, "Works," vol 27, p 571). As is well known, the party has recently devoted a great deal of attention to this problem, especially in connection with carrying out and initiating the activities of the economic reform.

To recapitulate, it is not the so-called objective conditions in a country allegedly unripe for a socialist revolution that are responsible for the present state of the Polish People's Republic, but rather the people who have distorted its nature through their policies.

Obviously, every country, including Poland, has specific conditions, peculiar to itself, and features formed by history, which the ruling party should take into account. In our past, however, it has happened that these features of the people and their mentality have not been taken into account. And the efforts of Marxist scholars should be aimed at clearing up these complicated matters and the processes of the deterioration and degeneration of the state under the influence of certain classes and people, especially in Poland.

Separate research is also required by the question of creating a structure for the national economy that, as it turned out, did not fully meet the needs of society. The problem is thus a complex one, and cannot be resolved by asserting that we were not ready for a revolution.

Certainly it would be easier to carry out the economic and social reconstruction of Poland if it were a more economically developed country. But this does not have anything in common with the alleged "prohibition" against a revolution by the classics.

Finally, here is one more small comment, although in my opinion an important one.

As far as I can remember--I was a graduate student, transferred to study at the IKKN from another institution in which I worked--the IKKN began its activities in autumn, probably on 1 October 1950. I remember this inauguration, in which B. Bierut participated.

Thus, the conversation with Roman Zambrowski on the subject of establishing the IKKN, of which A. Schaff writes, could not have taken place in the autumn of 1951, but instead in the spring of 1950, after which during 1950 the first class of the doctoral candidates at that time, who were called graduate students in the official nomenclature, was recruited.

Thus the autumn of 1950 was the date when the PZPR Central Committee's IKKN began its activities.

This 30th "Neglected Anniversary" thus occurred back in the autumn of 1980. That was a period in which, as we all remember, there was little opportunity and need to celebrate and observe anniversaries--even such important ones as as the establishment of the IKKN.

Schaff's Theory 'Simplistic,' 'Deceptive'

Warsaw PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY in Polish No 26, 26 Jun 83 p 6

/Article by Marian Dobrosielski: "Real Marxism or Science Fiction?"

/Text At the end of 1982 and the beginning of 1983, a geyser of revelations, explanations, and recipes from Prof Adam Schaff for restoring Marxism and Poland

suddenly burst out and is still continuing to spread through the Polish press. In numerous newspapers and periodicals, from ARGUMENTY, through POLITYKA and TU I TERAZ, to ZDANIE, there have been many interviews with him and articles by him. In them there are many inconsistent and contradictory thoughts, imperiously passed sentences, simplified views, and unjustified generalizations. It seemed at first that this was only an attempt to gain recognition by a long-forgotten politician, who after many years of irrelevance and silence in the country is again ready to come to the defense of Marxism (and not just Marxism) in Poland. I thought that these arguments would be treated as a contribution to the psychology of the development of the professor's personality, and that their embarrassing contents would be passed over in silence. That is what I thought. The views and assessments currently voiced by Adam Schaff are still being put forward, and treated seriously by some people. They distort events and facts in the past of the Polish People's Republic, and can lead to the formation of a false awareness, especially in the younger generation.

A short digression here. I have known Prof Schaff since 1950. For several years I worked in the department he headed at the Institute of Philosophy of the University of Warsaw. I know a little of his work. I knew his views at that time (before 1968) well, along with his political and scientific-organizational activity. I am far from denying the professor's major contributions. I think that I can state that our relationship, in spite of the difference in views on certain matters, was then and later at least correct, without personal animosities. I have not undertaken polemics in writing before. Presently, after great hesitation, I have decided to react for the above-mentioned reasons, and in accordance with the principle "amicus Plato, sed magis amica veritas."

If the professor voiced his views now without calling them Marxist, it would be possible to dismiss them without being disturbed by them or taking an interest in them. After all, different people have stated similar views, which passed without much of a response, for a very long time now. They did not, however, consider themselves to be Marxists or their views to be Marxist. Prof Schaff's originality is based solely on the fact that he presents these views as real, authentic, verified Marxism.

I do not intend to address myself in detail to Prof Schaff's present views. From the theoretical point of view, they do not deserve serious consideration. I consider them politically harmful in our present situation, however, and this is primarily why I am reacting to them. I am taking as a basis the interview in ZDANIE (no 4, 1983, pp 22-30), which is in a certain sense the quintessence of the professor's views and assessments previously expressed in articles and interviews. Stated with the self-assurance typical of him, they may mislead many people.

Even in the first opinions in this interview, Prof Schaff presents a simplified, dogmatic, and mystic interpretation of the theory and practice of Marxism. According to him, Marxism is a "body of theoretical assertions," which were misapplied in the past practice of socialist revolutions and of the building of socialism. The past practice of Marxism was "different or even opposed to what this body says." "Marxism was not disproved by these negative facts, but rather, on the contrary, verified."

According to the professor, there is also "an entire system of conditions, on the fulfillment of which Marxism makes its theoretical permission for carrying out a socialist revolution dependent." In general, however, politicians and practical Marxists "do not at all know the most" about this theoretical body and system of conditions.

This mystic, dogmatic, and allegedly verified Marxism could only be realized in some fantastic utopia, a creation of science fiction, but nowhere in the world in which we live. The practice recommended by the professor would probably have to function as follows: In a quiet, sheltered corner, where nothing disturbed theoretical reflection, a Great Guru (the Chinese have already recognized Prof Schaff as a real Marxist "guru," according to his report of his trip to China) would live with a group of assistants. They would be the only ones possessing full knowledge of verified, real Marxism, into which they would initiate selected disciples after the model of the former IKKN or INS. They would also be the only guardians of its theoretical purity and correctness, and the oracles on the question of the possibility and correctness of its realization in practice.

All politicians and practical Marxists in the entire world would be obliged to turn to the Great Guru (possibly Adam Schaff) and his group at regular intervals and inquire about whether the time had come in their areas for them to act and whether all of the conditions had been met for carrying out a revolution; and also ask for "theoretical permission" to begin one and carry it out. The guru would enlighten them, and in each case, regardless of the place, time, and conditions in which they lived and worked, he would tell them that they should not be guided by an objective assessment of the chances for a successful revolution, or of seizing power, but instead--as it appears from his latest book, "Ruch komunistyczny na rozdrożu" /The Communist Movement at the Crossroads/, he would say that "one should not hurry with a revolution," and that "in the past revolutions have been carried out precisely where for objective reasons they should not have been carried out." "Gentlemen, it is a revolutionary's obligation to teach patience to the masses." "A consensus is necessary--the concurrence of the majority of society." This means that one should wait patiently and passively until the kind capitalists and counterrevolutionaries permit the automatic ripening and fulfillment of all the conditions for carrying out a socialist revolution. Then they will arrange a plebiscite, and if the outcome of it is favorable, they will ask Marxists to carry out a revolution. What I have written seems like a parody, but it is not. This would be the practical consequence of adopting Adam Schaff's concept of "verified Marxism."

Prof Schaff forgets that Marxism is not only a "body of theoretical assertions," and that no such "body," to the extent that it deals with reality, especially social reality, can ever be completely verified. The professor forgets that what is much more fundamental to Marxism than the "body of assertions" is its concrete, intersubjective, scientific method of studying and understanding reality, man, and society, and that Marxism is also a certain definite way of thinking about the subjects of man and society, and a general guideline for action aimed at changing a specific social reality, action intended to fulfill given values and a given vision of the world.

Marxism contains a series of theoretical and scientific elements, and also ideological, ethical, and esthetic elements, assessments, norms, predictions, goals, and directives for action. Marxism is thus not just a theory and a method, but also an ideology and a world view, and these through their nature cannot be fully proved or disproved, as assertions describing reality can be. Thus no "guru" or even an entire flock of them will ever have a monopoly on a full knowledge of "proven Marxism," on issuing judgments about whether the necessary conditions for a revolution have been met or not, or on the correctness of concrete practice in the building of socialism.

Prof Schaff does not limit himself to presenting his mystic and dogmatic version of Marxism. He also points out the harmfulness of the Stalinist dogmatization of Marxism, as if it still existed today, which is doubtful, and states, "if in general Marxism is not made into a theory that is intellectually attractive, then one should not dream of influencing intellectuals" /"intellectually" and "intellectuals" emphasized in original/. How can this be? Does this "body of theoretical assertions," the so-called Marxism that according to Adam Schaff has been proved, exist or not, and does it only have to be "made" an intellectually attractive theory? And who is supposed to make it attractive to intellectuals? I always thought before that "making" a theory is the task of intellectuals, and that in the case of Marxism, it is a question of its attractiveness primarily to workers and to society as a whole. I learned that this theory has to become a material force and move the masses. And it suddenly turns out that it is a question of making it intellectually attractive to intellectuals. For what purpose, and what are the intellectuals supposed to do with it?

Here is another matter. In answer to one of the questions, Prof Schaff does not deny that he had a great deal of influence on Wladyslaw Gomulka (if he is beginning to believe that himself, it is an offer of one more illusion, and if he says so, it is an additional deception). He describes Gomulka as an activist of the old communist type, who adhered rigidly to schematics and formulations. The truth is that in the 1940's and 1950's, when the professor was expressing the Marxism currently condemned by him, in a dogmatic Stalinist version, Gomulka was taking a courageous and creative approach to the realization of an open and creative Marxism in Poland, for which he spent several years in prison. The period after his return to power was the most creative in Poland's postwar history, with respect to the realization of socialism. And what Prof Schaff thinks about his own activities at that time is also interesting. Was he implementing proven Marxism then, or was what he expressed also "only a liturgy"?

In this interview, there is an accusation of publishing a false "political testament" by Alfred Lampe. I do not have a clear opinion on this matter. I am not a historian of the workers movement in Poland. I remember, however, that in 1968 Andrzej Werblan (whom Prof Schaff calls his student), then head of the Science Department of the PZPR Central Committee, came to meetings of the party aktiv at the University of Warsaw and read to us various documents, among others the contents of a letter from Lampe to Stalin, from which something quite the opposite of what Schaff says about Lampe would appear to be the case. It would be good to have an authoritative and genuinely documented explanation.



Speaking about his book "Marksizm a jednostka ludzka" [Marxism and the Human Individual], published in 1968, Prof Schaff states that Marxism "does not deal with the essence of man; it deals with man as a human individual." And he continues: "Then, 20, years ago, this was a terribly shocking thesis, since all of us were accustomed to think that there is no individual in Marxism. Nonsense." If the word "nonsense" applies to all of the opinion preceding it, then I fully agree with Prof Schaff, since the assertion that everyone thought that there is no individual in Marxism is absolute nonsense. The professor ascribes to himself the discovery of the "individual" in Marxism. I am not calling this nonsense, but simply a falsehood. Admittedly, it is a fact that it was customary in the 1950's in various socialist countries to emphasize primarily the collective and not the individual. But everyone who has read Marx or literature on Marx at least superficially has had to say how great a role Marx ascribed to the human individual and to the individual development of the human personality. This was strongly emphasized for dozens of years by Marxists and non-Marxists in different countries, including Plekhanov. Just as an example, I remember the numerous works of Erich Fromm, and especially his book "Marx's Concept of Man," published 4 years earlier than Prof Schaff's book, since in 1961 Prof Schaff wrote, "I have had the misfortune sometimes of saying the right things and then having people completely forget who said it." I think that the professor should also state that he has adopted many things from other people and often forgotten to say from whom.

Prof Schaff's views that in the 1950's neopositivism was the chief opponent of Marxism in Polish philosophical thought are incorrect. I consider both this assessment, and the practice of that time initiated by the staff and doctoral candidates of the IKKN and INS of attacking the representatives of neopositivism in Poland, to be a serious political error. Neither neopositivist thought nor the people who represented it in Poland (in broad terms, Ajdukiewicz, Kotarbinski, Czezowski, and Kokoszynska, among others) were the chief opponents of Marxism, and in practice they could be and often were its allies on many concrete issues. Prof Schaff himself recalls that on the issue of demonstrating that there is no conflict between formal logic and dialectics, he "went hand in hand with Ajdukiewicz." I fully share his view on this matter.

Adam Schaff does not say much in this interview about 1968. He refers to his book, of which he says that everything is clearly stated there "in plain language." I am not familiar with this book, but in the interview in ZDANIE the professor states that among other things this had to do with a group struggle against Gomulka. Referring to publicist Jerzy Putrament, he says that "the events of December 1970 were brought about in order to get rid of Gomulka." These are very serious statements, and would require clarification. They are at any rate in conflict with the official assessments to date.

With regard to the INS experiment, which the professor would like to repeat, I will only say that this type of school does not have anything in common with the normal, healthy development of science. In recalling Kolakowski, Barczka, and others, he writes: "Some of these people are helping universities in the West today." And I naively believed the propaganda and thought that some of them were helping the anti-Polish and antisocialist campaign conducted in the West. The professor also speaks highly of Prof Brus. But Andrzej Werblan, in

"Przyczynek do genezy konfliktu" /Contribution to the Genesis of the Conflict/, from June 1968, writes as follows: "Włodzimierz Brus, when after a brilliant military career he began an equally rapid political and scientific career, was for several years the official apologist of the economic policy of Hilary Minc. After 1956, not even a few months were required for this scholar to be transformed into the leading critic of the policy previously praised by him." ("Szkice i Polemiki" /Sketches and Polemics/, KiW /Book and Knowledge/, 1970, p 174). I remember how in the 1960's, at the University of Warsaw, among other things Brus ardently defended Kuron, Modzelewski, and others who publicly attacked socialism, as valuable people, since they were "involved" and "idealistic."

There are a lot of other plums in this interview, on existentialism, Eurocommunism, convergence, alienation, the professor's activities at the Vienna Center for Social Sciences and in the Club of Rome, his meeting with the pope, and many other contributions and achievements modestly related by the professor. But I will not write about them any more. Perhaps there will be another occasion.

#### Schaff's Earlier Writings Assailed

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 22 Jun 83 p 4

/Article by Stefan Opara: "Changes in Critical Thought"/

/Text/ For almost 40 years, the philosopher Adam Schaff has presented to readers in Poland the results of his critical studies. Recently his critical opinions have appeared in prominent places in many periodicals, dealing among other things with socialist revolution, the countries of real socialism, the possibility of building socialism in the countries of the Third World, etc. These opinions are a means of popularizing the views expressed in a book by this author entitled "Ruch komunistyczny na rozdrożu" /The Communist Movement at the Crossroads/ (Europaverlag, Vienna 1982). This book opens a new stage in the changes in Adam Schaff's critical thought. This new stage can be understood only from a certain historical perspective.

I. Adam Schaff was never a rash critic; all quixotism, not taking into account conditions and systems, was foreign to him. He always knew how, whom, when, and for whom to criticize. At the same time, the posture of a militant polemicist has been characteristic of A. Schaff since the beginning of his scientific work. With a preaching self-assurance, equipped with an abundance of authoritative quotations, the category of idealism, and several coarse political epithets, he began his activity in the field of Polish science with militant critical discussions.

At the end of the 1940's and in the 1950's, he made use of the concept of "idealism" with particular abandon. Wherever he looked, he saw not only the influences of bourgeois thought, but also an objective idealist, or even worse, a subjective one. The partisans of the bourgeoisie and idealism did not make criticism of their work easier then, cleverly hiding behind various masks. One pretended to be a logician (such as K. Twardowski or K. Ajdukiewicz), another a "reist" (like T. Kotarbinski), and there were also those who pretended to be historical methodologists or semanticists--they were all relentlessly unmasked, however.

One could be amazed by the extensive knowledge and iron logic that permitted a young beginning scientist to dispose of philosophical authorities with ease. Then in one of the issues of STUDIA FILOZOFICZNE (No 1, 1958, pp 14-41), an article appeared by Prof J. Lazari-Pawłowska, in which she demonstrated in black and white, presenting quotations, that Adam Schaff, in conducting polemics with certain non-Marxist philosophers, a) ascribed to his opponents views that they had never expressed and which did not result from other views of theirs; b) also ascribed to them theses that were literally the opposite of their real views; and c) committed errors of logic in his critical interpretation. This article partially explains the secrets of the polemical method of the young critic, although it obviously did not tarnish his reputation in the least. Let us, however, leave the extensive theme of the criticism of non-Marxist philosophy to one side.

II. While fighting against several dozen non-Marxist theories at once, at the same time the critic also decided to deal with an assessment of the history of Marxist philosophy in Poland. In this field he reached such amazing conclusions that his polemical successes with the non-Marxists pale before them. Adam Schaff presented the fruits of his critical researches in this regard in his work "Narodziny i rozwój filozofii marksistowskiej" /The Origin and Development of Marxist Philosophy/ (Warsaw, 1950).

In this work the author really wanders among isolated quotations, and deals awkwardly with the elementary concepts of Marxism (for example, he flagrantly confuses Marxist philosophy with Marxism, and does not include historical materialism in Marxist philosophy), but he has clear and decided critical conclusions.

These conclusions (in brief) are as follows. The first Polish Marxists, such as Krusinski, Bialostocki, Puchewicz, or Chrzanowski, were those "who strove to familiarize themselves with Marxism, but were prevented from carrying out their scientific plans by an untimely death" (p 298). Stanislaw Brzozowski died particularly young: the precursor of Marxist methods of literary analysis, a prisoner in the Warsaw Citadel, and the creator of an original "philosophy of labor," he does not receive any mercy from Schaff. We read: "The nationalist Brzozowski is spiritually close to great-power Russian chauvinism, as in a later historical period Polish fascism felt close to Hitlerism... An anti-Marxist, an enemy of socialism, a nationalist and a precursor of the fascist idea in Poland--these are the characteristic ideological traits of S. Brzozowski" (pp 333-334).

One has to have strong nerves to read this calmly. The horror does not end with Brzozowski, however. The reader who thinks that there cannot be anything worse in the Polish Marxist tradition is mistaken, for we read further: "There is a legend in Poland not only about Brzozowski, but also about Kelles-Krauz. The latter is more dangerous, since it is harder to overcome, since Kelles-Krauz acknowledged Marxism and actually defended individual assertions of historical materialism" (p 335).

The critic thus almost has a grudge against Kelles-Krauz for his Marxist declaration. Such obstacles do not deter him, however, and he states that Kelles-Krauz played the role of "an agent of the bourgeoisie," and was clearly

a "nationalist, reformist, and a pseudothoretician of Marxism"; he was even "an idealist of the purest water." Kelles-Krauz was "far from Marxism," and had "an undoubtedly harmful influence from the point of view of the interests of the development of Marxist thought," etc. (p 357).

The reader tormented by the news of the outrageous harmfulness and ideological shortcomings of the Polish Marxists has a right to expect that at least Ludwik Krzywicki will remain. He left behind a truly monumental body of scientific work, of significance in world Marxist literature, created the foundations for the development of Marxist sociology, and contributed many new and original ideas to the treasury of Marxist thought.

A. Schaff, however, perceives Krzywicki's errors and inconsistencies without difficulty, harshly assesses his bourgeois objectivism, condemns his academic mistakes and lack of critical approach, etc., and states that he never understood Marxism-Leninism, and even actually rejected it. "Ludwik Krzywicki made use of the success of Marxism in several works, but he was not a Marxist"--he sums it up.

In the entire tradition of Polish Marxism, Schaff does not find a single figure worthy of respect, and consequently calls for a systematic destruction of the "proliferating weeds" of the Polish Marxist tradition (p 334).

III. After the October turningpoint, Adam Schaff retained his well-known view of himself as a one-man agency called upon to assess Marxism and point out the directions of the ideological struggle. He also fully retains his militance and uncompromising approach in polemics. Only the principles and directions of the struggle have changed for him. A Schaff is now searching in bourgeois thought (often clearly mystical or anti-Marxist) for inspiration for the "creative development of Marxism." Dogmatic and ossified Marxism is becoming his enemy. In the name of "creative revisionism," he is turning the weapon of his criticism against the adherents of the traditional principles. The renovated Adam Schaff thunders forth from the first page of the new weekly that "one cannot forget the stanchions (at least!) used against dogmatics and sectarians of all types" (POLITYKA 26 Jun 57).

Equipped with an antidogmatic attitude, he travels through Western countries, studies Marxological literature, and in it finds more and more new theoretical revelations, with which he wishes to complement Marxism. Adam Schaff's thought still shines by reflected light, but the sources of the light have changed. After Stalin crowds of new authorities occupied the pedestal, such as the melancholy neo-Freudian Erich Fromm, the Jerusalem mystic Martin Buber, and the Sovietologist Robert Tucker. Impelled by diverse inspirations, A. Schaff is attempting to transplant to Marxist soil a mystically understood category of alienation and bourgeois individualism. The old Biblical Satan is entering Marxism, suitably clothed in the name of "alienation," which to A. Schaff is a) evil; b) the source of evil; c) universal and practically indestructible; and d) the aim of the struggle of Marxists and all people of good will.

Our critic sought support for this concept in quotations from the "young Marx." But A. Schaff was unable to find an appropriate quotation in Marx for a concept

making the individual the point of departure for Marxist theory. He therefore arranged to prepare Marx by ascribing to him the absurd thought that "the human individual is the totality of social relations." Many polemicists stepped forward to defend Marx. The course of this amazing discussion was straightforwardly presented by J. Kamieniecki in a paper entitled "Spor wokół interpretacji myśli marksistowskiej" /Dispute Over the Interpretation of Marxist Thought/ (NOWE DROGI No 8, 1974, pp 87-104). We note here only a certain method of characterizing imported theories as part of the body of Marxist theories. This method is based on finding a useful quotation in Marx.

IV. In the 1980's, Adam Schaff appears as a critic who has changed radically again. Specifically, the theoretical inspirations and the objects of criticism are changing, but on the other hand the familiar posture of the "critical" Marxist remains. What is the critic fighting today, and to what is he devoting his polemical passion? Leaving modern capitalism to one side, A. Schaff directs his critical thought toward real socialism and certain aspects of the practice of the international workers movement. This is not a trivial subject for criticism. Real socialism is represented today by more than 10 states on several continents, comprising over 26 percent of the territory of the planet, close to 33 percent of the world population, about 40 percent of world industrial production, etc.

And the existence of all this, A. Schaff states, is illegal and invalid, since it came about in a manner conflicting with Marx's views. According to the critic, Marx, in his book "German Ideology," allegedly defined the following conditions for a successful socialist revolution:

--"a high level of economic development, in order to be able to begin distributing prosperity immediately after the revolution";

--"a high level of the working class, in order for it to be able to cope with the requirements of modern technology";

--"victory of the revolution simultaneously in the critical countries" (A. Schaff, "Marksizm dzisiaj" /Marxism Today/, STUDIA FILOZOFICZNE No 3, 1983; other quotations from the same source).

It is sufficient to glance at Marx's works in order to perceive that Marx links the revolution to an appropriately high development of the productive forces, and not to a high level of prosperity; by the high level of development of the revolutionary working class, Marx does not mean its technological efficiency (as Schaff writes), but rather its political maturity in the sense of the existence of revolutionary organizations, a militant party, revolutionary awareness, etc.

In the same "German Ideology" that Schaff cites, Marx writes about how contradictions between the productive forces and human relations can also bring about a revolutionary situation in countries that are not the most highly developed industrially (see K. Marx, F. Engels, "Works," vol 3, p 82)--which completely refutes the sense of A. Schaff's conclusions that revolutions in countries of this type are "invalid."

It has been generally known for a long time that revolutionary practice has not confirmed all of Marx's notions on the subject of the place and scope of the socialist revolution. The conclusions that A. Schaff derives from this fact, however, are based on a method of thought from a foundation foreign to Marxism, since it seems to our critic that if reality has not confirmed some thesis of Marx, then so much the worse for reality. Schaff does not want to treat Marx's works as the work of a brilliant man, but rather as a collection of infallible opinions, each of which can be the basis for an evaluation of the world. Marx, meanwhile, did not treat his science as a dogma, but rather as guidelines, verified in the process of revolutionary practice. The thought of denying real revolutionary practice by pointing out its deviation from some isolated quotation is of Talmudic and not Marxist origin. On the basis of considerations of this type, Schaff warns the parties in Latin American countries not to try to realize socialism haphazardly, and to preserve their "revolutionary patience" (probably while waiting for prosperity).

In his critical outburst, A. Schaff totally condemns real socialism, blaming its institution on disloyal Marxists. "The postulates of Marxism were disregarded--people proceeded in spite of them, and more than once (as for example in the case of Poland) with full awareness of this," he asserts.

One may consequently ask a few questions:

- 1) Who was considered the leading Marxist at the time of the revolution in Poland?
- 2) Who then quoted with approval the theses of J. Stalin on the possibility of the victory of socialism in one country (A. Schaff, "The Origin and Development of Marxist Philosophy," op cit, p 241)?
- 3) Who condemned the "right-wing nationalist deviations, for which Gomulka's group was responsible" (ibid, p 402) and Gomulka himself, who warned against being too hasty in imposing political and economic solutions not suited for Poland?
- 4) Who, at the time of the greatest intensity of the distortions, included in a periodical managed by him lead articles praising the political wisdom of the leaders and the reality of that period (MYSL FILOZOFICZNA No 2, 1952, pp 3-12)?

It is difficult to believe that this was the same critic who is today criticizing the invalidity of the revolution in Poland. In the above-mentioned introduction to the book "The Communist Movement at the Crossroads," A. Schaff assures us that he is a Marxist and a communist. At the same time, in this book he does the following:

--condemns the validity of past socialist revolutions (in the spirit of Trotsky's old theses);

--assesses real socialism exclusively in terms of bureaucracy, coercion, lack of democracy, etc. (in the spirit of the anticommunist primer);

--on the basis of isolated quotations, tries to "prohibit" parties in the countries of the Third World from achieving socialism, recommending that they be patient;

--encourages the communist parties in Western countries to distance themselves from Leninism and to criticize the countries of real socialism.

As one can see, the "communist" A. Schaff has confused the fronts of the struggle. Instead of fighting capitalism, he fights socialism; instead of fighting for socialism in the world, he opposes it; instead of fighting for the unity of the workers movement, he encourages divisions, etc.

As we have recalled, in order to understand all this, this critical basis has to be viewed from a certain perspective, taking into account both the past of the thinker and the current arrangement of forces in the Cold War world, and also the internal situation of a Poland rent by the crisis.

With this I conclude my recapitulation, which is troublesome and unpleasant, if you consider the tone of some articles. Unfortunately, I have no space left (this article is too long anyway) to reply to the letters I have mentioned. Some were really interesting in the way they tackled certain problems which are quite different from those discussed above. As for the "pouting" a certain "old" group has been displaying, we can ignore it. Apart from a small and closed group of people, no one is interested in them.

Before concluding, let me mention the nice article entitled "Marxists: A Time for Unification?" by Stanislaw Bucholc /TU I TERAZ, 13 Jul 83/, the substance of which I have said I agree with. I do indeed, but only theoretically. For, in practice, even if you take for granted the fact that a Marxist is anyone who refers to describe himself as one, how can you possibly achieve such a unification? And with whom? There are many people with whom I would not like to be unified at any price. These people can only harm the cause of restoring confidence to Marxism and its prestige.

#### Schaff Responds to Critics

Warsaw TU I TERAZ in Polish No 32, 10 Aug 83 pp 3, 5

/Article by Adam Schaff: "A Crisis of Marxism? Adam Schaff Recapitulates the Discussion"/

/Text/ My article, entitled "A Crisis of Marxism or of Marxists?" (TU I TERAZ, 16 March 1983), called forth heated discussion, which bore fruit in a number of articles sent to the editors who subsequently published most of them in full or in part. This reponse to a columnist's remarks is a bit of a surprise, especially now that certain circles have proclaimed a boycott of the press. I regard this response as a special success, which I want to stress at the outset of recapitulating the discussion; apparently I must have touched a sensitive nerve--exactly the thing I intended to do when I wrote the article.

This is a self-evident statement. Yet a recapitulation is immensely harder and more complex a task. Those several articles represent not only different, but occasionally even mutually opposed tendencies in thinking. This is a welcome fact, yet it makes it difficult for someone wanting to recapitulate. Moreover, these articles understandably bring up such varied issues that it is beyond the limits of any article, even one with several installments.

However, there is more to it. The discussion was conducted not only in articles but also in letters to TU I TERAZ, to POLITYKA, and even to my private address. These were letters widely differing in tone--which, again, is understandable--including bitter ones, rejecting my stand utterly or partly, often letters denouncing the Polish reality, socialism and Marxism. However, not a single letter (even anonymous ones) contained personal abuse. I am stressing this aspect of the discussion to show that the letter writers withstood temptations to which it is so easy to yield in disputes over extremely sensitive political or ideological issues. I feel edified, and this is why, in the following, I also intend to reply to these letters.

Finally, the whole discussion is overshadowed by the silence of old communists, those with the stamp of Lord Jim on them, whom I criticized, and who refused to answer in writing but instead are icily silent in conversations, and keep giving me hostile looks at casual meetings.

There are just too many issues to tackle all in one article. So I have decided to do what seems to me to be the only sensible way of doing the job--namely to seize this opportunity to touch upon some problems that cropped up in some form or other during the discussion in order to respond to specific charges brought against my views. This necessarily implies a certain selection, which is not to say that disregarded issues are inconsequential. They merely do not fit into the scheme of problems I regard as most significant here. I beg forgiveness for such omissions, primarily of authors who basically agree with me and with whom I, in turn, also agree (Stanislaw Bucholc, Stanislaw Cieniawa, Wiktorja Dewitz). Their views, by the way, will find implicit reflection in what follows.

#### Why, And For What Purpose, I Wrote The Original Article

As I mentioned before, I resumed publishing in the Polish press--after 14 years of silence in Poland and publication exclusively abroad--for political reasons; specifically, in December 1981, I identified myself with the decision to impose martial law because I believed Poland (not only socialism in Poland) was in danger. So, there is no point for me to be sore about March 1968 and its consequences, especially since many of those politically responsible for those events have been swept off the scene. Instead, it was necessary for me to respond to the call to defend socialism in Poland, not only against Solidarity extremists but also against the survival of the sectarian-dogmatic tendency in our movement.

Urged by this need, I decided to start writing on ideological-political problems, an area which has been neglected by Polish columnists. And I do not mean highly abstract theorizing, but down-to-earth problems that are likely to attract people's interest. In this connection, is there anything more topical than the question of whether manifestations of Poland's social crisis are perhaps indicative of a crisis of Marxism?



The opinion that Marxism is in crisis (or even that it is bankrupt) is voiced by those who draw such a conclusion from crisis phenomena in some socialist countries. Poland is not the only case in question.

These critics argue more or less that since these countries were guided by Marxism-Leninism in their development, their failures practically prove the theory to be false. My answer is that this argument is wrong because failures in practice render a theory false only when this theory's conditions for implementation were adhere to. Socialist revolutions up to now have failed to fulfill these conditions, because the conditions Marx formulated (and Antonio Gramsci supplemented) were not kept, so that in consequence, practice was not in line with Marxism; subsequently, erroneous practice does not invalidate Marxist tenets but, on the contrary, reaffirms them. Thus, speaking of a crisis of Marxism as a theory is unwarranted; the most one can say in this connection is that Marxists are in crisis because, by wrongly applying Marx's theory, they curbed this theory's scope of influence (and, in this sense, Marxism can be said to be in crisis today) and, in their frustration, became caught in an ideological crisis. There are plenty of "crises" here (the crisis of Marxism's ideological influence due to mistakes committed by its hapless advocates; their own "crisis" in the sense of distorting the theory they adhere to; their resignation due to frustration in the face of failures in actual practice), yet one is not mentioned--namely the crisis in the sense of falsifying the theory propounded by the classics and known as "Marxism." And this is the paramount problem, because failures or even crises of practical applications of socialist revolution may hurt, but are not catastrophic, as they can be rectified. But a collapse of the theory would be nothing short of a catastrophe, for this would mean the end of scientific socialism. I think this reasoning is fully correct, and every follower of Marxism should at least accept it as a hypothesis for discussion.

Yet this did not happen. Battallions of "orthodox" Marxists rushed into battle--some through ignorance or misunderstanding (these will be forgiven by Marxist gods, for they know not what they do), others blinded by personal hatred toward the author; others still--and these are the most dangerous people--serve current opportunistic gains rather than the truth. Notice that my reasoning produces two conclusions--first, that in keeping with Marxism, a socialist revolution must not be carried out at will, and, second, that if such a revolution is put through with no regard to its objective and subjective conditions, it is bound to be defective and may even lead to social tragedy.

So, I have come forward with my arguments. Let us now take a (selective) look at what my adversaries have to say. In this section, I shall follow the reasoning of individual authors, but arrange my reply in such an order that it produces additional arguments for the above-stated views.

#### Arguments Propounded by My Critics

First, some of my critics question the sense of distinguishing between a crisis of Marxism and a crisis of Marxists. This charge is ridiculous because, as mentioned above, a question of fundamental importance is involved. Demonstrating Marxism to be a false theory would mean the end of scientific socialism, which

various brands of enemies of socialism have been preaching, whereas a crisis of Marxists would simply signify the error of false application of this theory. I do not suspect those arguing that it is a crisis of Marxism of cherishing such devious intentions; they simply confuse the matter of the crisis of Marxism as theory with the crisis of Marxism's influence on the masses due to mistakes in its practical application.

Second, if one argues that failures in some socialist countries do not invalidate Marxism because they result from an erroneous application of this theory (not fulfilling the theory's conditions for implementing socialist revolution), then these conditions must be named and the sources from which this information is drawn must be indicated. This is precisely what I did in my article, quoting from Marx and Gramsci. And yet two of my adversaries--Wit Gawrak and Ryszard Gradowski--dare to challenge this testimony of truth. As this is a very significant point, they deserve a reply.

Gawrak (TU I TERAZ No 19) plays down Marx's "German Ideology," and totally ignores Gramsci, probably regarding him as a negligible authority.

For some 30 years now, Gawrak has been following me with some maniacal perseverance as my personal enemy. He regards it as necessary always to preach opinions different from mine in order to demonstrate in this way how unorthodox I am. Naturally, in doing this he drives himself into absurdity, for while I say the truth he "must" deny it. I would leave him alone in his Herculean ordeal were it not for the fact that he may confuse people in matters of importance. This is now the case, and therefore, although I had sent him to a Marxist kindergarten for instruction before, I have to take up the problem once more.

I leave aside Gawrak's intellectual antics, which make me doubt his reasoning deserves any serious reply at all, as when he charges me with lying when I say that he denies the fact that Marx and Engels specified several rigorous conditions for implementing socialist revolution in the mid-19th century (if Gawrak does not deny this, the dispute is immaterial, because I am right), or when, in the next paragraph, he plays down the significance of a quotation from "German Ideology" (this, despite Gawrak's claim, is not a mistranslation, but a truthful rendering of the German original "Deutsche Ideologie," made in accordance with Polish syntax; I am not responsible for Polish translators), because Marx, Gawrak argues, was not a Marxist at that time. At this point, he goes on to discuss the postulate of socialism's victory in the most advanced countries, quoting from an article I wrote in 1967 (!) rather than from the one that unleashed the present discussion; finally, he comes up with his most damaging evidence, namely, a discussion on dialectics of 1955 (!), a matter which has absolutely nothing to do with the problem discussed here, but which marks the beginning of Gawrak's mania. There is evidently something wrong with his sense. So, his charge could easily be dismissed, but it enables me to point out once more certain matters which are important for barring misunderstandings, and therefore I am going to reply.

(a) "German Ideology," Marx's and Engels' fundamental work, which propounds the basics of historical materialism, was written in 1845-46 but only published in 1932 (!). This work marks the beginning of Marxism's "mature" period. Apart

from Gawrak, no student of Marxism in the world would come up with the idea of classing it with other works of Marx's "youthful" period, when Marx "was not yet a Marxist."

Not even Althusser, a master at dividing Marx's lifetime into "youthful" and "mature" periods, came up with such an idea. This work was written to develop the renowned "Theses on Feuerbach" (written in the spring of 1845) which are among the classics of Marxism. Thus, any deprecation of this as a "youthful" work is merely a reflection of ignorance.

(b) In this classical work, Marx and Engels clearly expounded their stand on the conditions for implementing socialist revolution (especially in volume 3, pages 37 and 498 of the Polish edition of the "Works," Warsaw, 1961). There are three such conditions--"an enormous growth of productive forces, a high level of their development" (p 37); ... "private property can be abolished only on the condition that individuals can develop freely (...), only those individuals who develop in a versatile manner can assimilate existing productive forces" (p 498); "Communism is empirically possible only as an act of ruling nations, carried out 'at one stroke' and simultaneously" (pp 37-38). Marx, who wrote the chapter on Feuerbach, wrote in his typically straightforward style that, without the first condition, "not only would shortages become universal, but, together with poverty, the fight for indispensable things would start anew, and all the olds s--- would return" (Marx used the word "Scheisse"; the Polish translator was too shy--p 37).

This is not a single line, as Gawrak says, but a long line of reasoning, and it is more than the problem of universality of socialist revolution, as Gawrak implies. It is a clear formulation of objective conditions for socialist revolution to take place, a formulation the classics of Marxism never revoked. They did not revoke it in the "Communist Manifesto" as Gawrak argues (on what ground?), or in the quotes used by Gawrak's supporter, Professor Gradowski; these quotes merely show that Marx and Engels were for socialist revolution, a trivial and all too obvious observation. Yet these quotes contain not a single word to show that Marx and Engels would have changed their original view on the objective conditions for socialist revolution. The only text of this sort, with which Gradowski is, however, unfamiliar, but which leftist extremists are fond of quoting, is Marx's letter to Vera Zassulia. Marx mentions in it the "obshchina" as a possible embryo of socialism in the Russian countryside.

This letter's incompatibility with Lenin's denunciation of the Russian "narodniki" for promoting similar ideas, made in his work "The Development of Capitalism in Russia," is only apparent, for those quoting Marx's letter fail to quote what he says later on, namely, that this may happen if the "obshchina" survives until a victorious socialist revolution. So, Marx definitely did not change his views on the matter in which we are interested. It is a pity that this idea was not published until 1932 and that a whole pantheon of great Marxist revolutionaries could not know it.

(c) Finally, there is the problem of universality of socialist revolution, which was also demanded by other classics (Gradowski quotes a pertinent text by Engels). Gawrak obstinately refuses to believe that Lenin amended, revised,

this idea. But Lenin really did so. His analysis of irregular development of capitalist countries in the phase of imperialism led him to the conclusion that revolution may begin not in all countries simultaneously, but even in a single one, provided it is a weak link in the chain of capitalist countries. Revolution may begin in one country. However, this is not a topic of discussion here.

Thirdly, what follows from these theoretical Marxist assumptions for the worker movement's strategy of struggle for socialist revolution?

There are at least two general conclusions to be drawn from this. First, socialist revolution must never be carried out at will and, if indispensable conditions do not exist in any given case, the worker party concerned should display revolutionary patience, channeling the revolutionary movement into another path, which enables it to keep its allies (see, for example, the example of Lenin after the 1905 revolution). Second, if the revolution is carried out in defiance of these guidelines, then it is bound to be "defective."

This point is of practical significance, because the revolution in microelectronics will soon force even the most advanced countries of the West and Asia (Japan) to face the necessity of introducing deep structural changes of a collectivist (I deliberately avoid using the term "socialist") nature.

This circumstance led me to write a book called "The Communist Movement at the Crossroads" /Ruch komunistyczny na rozdrożu/ (which has already appeared in several Western countries) in which I analyze these problems in detail. In its final chapter, called "The Polish Lesson," I apply my general conclusions to an analysis of the events of 1980-81 in Poland.

Wojciech Garstka (TU I TERAZ No 24) is the only author to show any interest in the general consequences of this analysis. Others (Adam Rostkowski and Ryszard Gradowski) want to "nail" me with the specific case of Poland alone.

Garstka must be very young, because his questions about the Natolin-Pulawy factional strife or his hearsay information on alleged "prophets of a second stage of post-1956 changes" (he genuinely asks, not insinuates) are disarmingly naive. These questions show that information on Poland's most recent history is extremely scanty. Unfortunately, I cannot afford to discuss these matters at length as this would destroy the careful layout of this article, but I invite Garstka for a meeting at which we could talk about this "prehistory."

Garstka faces the following dilemma: If socialist revolutions carried out up to now are said not to have fulfilled the pertinent conditions, were these revolutions really socialistic? If so, doesn't this prove the theory to be false, if these revolutions could nonetheless be carried out? Doesn't this imply logical inconsistency?

No, it does not. Logically, this is, in fact, very simple. In formulating his recommendations for socialist revolutions, Marx did not say that socialist revolutions (meaning a transformation of a society's economic formation) cannot be carried out in defiance of these conditions--which, incidentally, is easy to do in a crisis--but that revolutions carried out in such a way may be socialist

(as changing the given economic formation) but "defective" in many respects (for instance, they may entail low living standards). Once you realize this, you will notice several practical consequences for socialist practice. This is what my "Communist Movement at the Crossroads"--a book that so infuriated Rostkowski and Gradowski--is all about.

These critics were dismayed by the conclusions following from my reasoning about Poland's present situation. I expounded these conclusions clearly in "The Polish Lesson," a text which is known to political scientists although it has not been published in Poland. So, Rostkowski's contention (TU I TERAZ No 21) that I am trying "in an arcane manner, to imply that revolutionary socialist transformations in Poland were premature" shows that he is unfamiliar with my texts. I have implied nothing in an arcane manner--I unequivocally stated this. I did so in reliance on Marx, and on a pertinent argument by Alfred Lampe, who had predicted that mistaken policies in this respect would put off the cause of socialism in Poland for two or three generations. I hope this at least is clear now. Poland's difficulties essentially derive from the fact that Poland was not ripe for socialism. I believe the changes were accelerated by the international situation in the latter 1940's, as the danger of a new war was imminent. From this vantage point, then, the decision to introduce socialist changes in Poland was correct, although its cost is still being paid up to this day. I have said all this clearly and unequivocally, so let us not waste time on useless exegeses.

Since Gradowski seems not to have read my book, knowing it only from secondhand information, and does not bother to guess what I have said, but simply sums up my ideas in three points, he muddles up in point three the problem of compulsion by introducing some bizarre psychological compulsion. Besides, he plays the innocent, pretending not to know the relevant facts.

Certainly, I do say these heresies and I justify what I am saying. I do not like socialism's present shape and I want it to be better. To this end, I criticize present inadequacies, as a genuine communist dedicated to this cause should do. Gradowski was kind enough to class this view as deriving "from the best sources of Western anticommunism." We have seen this practice of substituting insinuations for arguments before, only now it is merely ridiculous.

This individual case would hardly be harmful, yet the real problem is the barrier which people who think and argue in this manner constitute on the road to the creative development of Marxism, and this latter is a condition for overcoming the present crisis.

#### Freedom of Thought And Skill In Discourse

Poland is now witnessing a deep crisis of influence of Marxism (I repeat: in this sense Marxism can be said to be in crisis). It is deeper than it was after 1956, because now it has also embraced Marxists themselves. This is a dangerous development, both politically and ideologically, especially in face of the growth in influence of anti-Marxist ideologies. It is clear that socialism cannot be defended, much less developed, without a motivating ideology. Thus it is obvious that the battle for Marxism and its influence is becoming immensely important.

Potentially, Marxism has all the advantages necessary to win this battle. But, of course, this applies only to "creative," "open" Marxism, a Marxism which is so not only in verbal declarations but which openly states the truth, takes up new problems without regard to "taboos" or various resolutions--a Marxism which is fearless. For this you need minds, but also an atmosphere of freedom of thought and exploration for Marxists; over the past several decades the communist movement has not always granted these freedoms. I have a right to say this, because ever since the creation of socialist Poland (see, for instance, the minutes of the April 1947 PZPR Central Committee Plenum which were published recently, unfortunately in abridged form), I have frequently repeated this demand in public; more important still, I created and headed the Social Sciences Institute /INS/ at the PZPR Central Committee for several years in this spirit, although Gradowski disagrees. If Rostkowski tries to ridicule this demand, he is doing a futile job because, after all, we all benefit from it. This is too significant a matter--it is even a vital one--to afford a mindless disparagement of it. Before I discuss it more specifically, let me only point out that if one tries to solve problems by denying self-evident facts and behaving like an ostrich, then one not only resorts to propaganda tricks but also does real harm.

Pretenses of ignorance are futile, because, as I have written before, freedom of thought is a rare asset in Poland, especially among Marxists (non-Marxists are much better off in this respect). If no radical change is made to let Marxists think for themselves, then Marxism is a lost cause.

So, what is the real situation? There is no need to go back to earlier years. An illustration from present-day practice of A.D. 1983--as Rostkowski put it--will do.

As mentioned before, I have published a book on "The Communist Movement at the Crossroads" (translated into five languages so far). The interest this book (which is circulated in Poland too) has evoked is in no way surprising, for it deals with painful problems of the modern world, including Polish ones. I was gratified to hear that the Higher School of Social Sciences /WSNS/ was going to organize a discussion on it this May, though I was intrigued by the question of how they are going to discuss a book without having a Polish copy (I do have such copies, but no one has asked me to lend them). But it turned out that I underrated the organizers' ingenuity. First, they did not invite the author of the book, and justly so, because this would force participants to discuss it seriously. Second, the book had not been read (except by 1 person out of 40 participants), and justly so, because the book might mislead them into engaging in serious discussion; instead, participants had to do with "cheat sheets" of quotations taken out of context. These two moves should be patent pending! This is how you score easy and foolproof victories.

This, Mr Rostkowski, is what "freedom of thought" for Marxists still looks like in Poland. This example is from my own experience. However, I am not typical, because I still enjoy some prestige. But it happens that even I get besieged by a barking pack of sectarians whenever I dare come up with some idea. What can an ordinary Marxist do, then, especially a young person? They will surely bite him to death. And, how can you overcome your fear, how can you persuade people to think boldly? Whoever is dedicated to the cause of Marxism in Poland

must demand real freedom of thought, and fight for it indomitably. But this is another, separate matter, which I will return to on another occasion, although I have written about it before, such as during the 1956 crisis.

### The INS And Its "Enemies"

I have mentioned the noncelebrated anniversary of the Institute for Training Scientific Cadres-Social Sciences Institute /IKKN-INS/ deliberately. I do not want to evoke a nostalgic feeling, but to show it is necessary today to create a similar party institution for teaching new researchers, as the old cadre has clearly been on the decline.

I suppose no sincere party follower would deny such a need. My demand was, soon after it was voiced, indirectly confirmed as justified when the 12th PZPR Central Committee Plenum decided to create such a school, called the Academy of Social Sciences at the PZPR Central Committee. This Academy is already in preparation; it will be created from the existing WSNS, as I proposed in my article.

This alarmed WSNS's "defenders," who launched a counterattack. Gradowski's article referred to here is part of a WSNS brochure called "The Present Dispute Over Marxism." As the 12th PZPR Central Committee Plenum definitively settled the matter, it could easily be dismissed, were it not for certain "buts."

Gradowski, who denigrates the INS (from which he graduated and where he worked as my deputy for several years), "supports" his reasoning with a peculiar presentation of the party and of Marxism at that time. You can once again--like many previous times--learn that the party leadership was composed of Hilary Minc, Roman Zambrowski and Jakub Berman (try to guess why only these three names are mentioned!), that Marxism was subordinated to the mistaken economic exigencies of the time (sic!), that the INS was a dogmatic institution (sic!), or that the fact that people like Wlodzimierz Brus, Zygmunt Bauman, Bronislaw Baczko or Leszek Kolakowski left Poland definitively proves the INS was worth nothing.

Let me make two brief remarks on this.

The insinuation that the INS was a dogmatic institution and served to vindicate someone's mistaken policies (the INS was supervised in its everyday practice by Boleslaw Bierut himself, who controlled details of our work; Gradowski is aware of this but ignores it on purpose) is pure nonsense.

Even Gradowski's own article in its first part invalidates this claim, because he praises the INS's achievements. The INS was an institution of supreme scientific standing. A great many nonaffiliated professors participated in its work. It was open in its interpretation of Marxism, which is seen in its turnout of many outstanding minds, people occasionally of worldwide renown. It is a great pity that many of these people have emigrated (oh yes, it is a great pity indeed).

The INS produced more than 800 graduates. Not even one percent of them (actually five people) emigrated--and did so under very special conditions which bestow little glory on our movement. So, what should be done with the remaining 99.5 percent? Are they all insignificant? Both Professor Gradowski and Professor Norbert Michta come from this "stable." Or take the "trifle" of all those members of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo, the Secretariat, the successive Central Committees, government members, top party and government officials--should these people also be written off? Or do they prove the INS's "glory?" I do not even mention non-Marxist professors at various higher schools. Now, who is playing naive? For a former INS graduate, this is really bad reasoning.

#### A Few Other Critics

Some other articles were contributed for discussion. Although they add nothing new to the topic, they deserve a response. As these articles appeared elsewhere, not in TU I TERAZ, this answer is, so to speak, extracurricular, and thus I will just briefly signal my opinions on their arguments.

Marian Dobrosielski (PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY, 26 June, 1983) adds nothing to the discussion, save his very peculiar tone. But he makes a few insinuations which must be rejected.

First, Dobrosielski is mistaken when he mentions some obscure letter Lampe allegedly wrote to Stalin, which Andrzej Werblan is said to have read at some party meeting. As far as I know, no such letter ever existed, and I think Werblan should inform the editors about it.

Second, Dobrosielski is mistaken in insinuating that, in my book on "Marxism and the Human Individual," I failed to mention Erich Fromm's "Marxist Idea of Man." In fact, I did quote from this and other works--both earlier and later--by Fromm, who was a great friend of mine until his death. Not only did Fromm have no objections to my book, he even wrote an enthusiastic foreword to its American edition. He ended this foreword thus: "There are books that reflect in contents the author's personality and style; there are books that conceal them. This book belongs to the former group. It reflects its author's courage, honesty, modesty and humanity. It does not eschew voicing unpopular views and does not pretend to contain solutions that would not be well considered or purely ideological. It is pervaded with a spirit of genuine concern for man, because the author is true to himself, never concealing his doubts and yet full of hope that mankind can take a further step toward a more humane and happier existence" /retranslated/. This is what Fromm wrote about the book and its author, whom Dobrosielski, though well aware of the truth, charges with plagiarism. This qualifies for a libel suit.

Third, Mr Dobrosielski insinuates that I said something about my influence on Wladyslaw Gomulka because, when asked about it, I did not deny it. Isn't this a dirty trick? No one had influence on Gomulka, who was a tough, independently-thinking person. What is true is that for many years we maintained a close, personal, I should even say friendly, relationship until his death. Gomulka appreciated my theoretical achievements and paid attention to them. He talked to me frankly, and I was often at his home. Dobrosielski, whom I well remember



for his role at the renowned meeting in the Palace of Culture in 1968, when the hall, infiltrated by a select group of hired hecklers, interrupted Gomulka's speech chanting "Gierek, Gierek!", should not now style himself as a defender of Gomulka's honor. How things really looked can be told by Gomulka's wife, Zofia, or, for instance, Ignacy Loga-Sowinski, but not Dobrosielski.

Stefan Opara is with the WSNS. His article in TRYBUNA LUDU (22 June 1983) relies on misinformation, distortions, etc. For instance, out of my total record of some 25 books and several hundred articles, he picks out one from my "youthful" period (1947) and displays a style of criticism which then dominated in Marxist literature. Yet he fails to mention more than 20 other publications, some of which were translated into 16 languages, which is a record achievement in Polish human sciences. You do not get a honorary doctorate at the Sorbonne (among others) for nothing.

So much for the past. These are typical personal attacks which, at best, are based on ignorance. As for the topic of the discussion, Opara has nothing to add, and so I have nothing to which to reply.

Jaroslav Ladosz (SPRAWY I LUDZIE, 16 June 1983) also spoke up, giving a brief summary of my views (but only of "The Polish Lesson"), exposing them as pure revisionism. This is Ladosz, the relentless sleuth of all revisionists, a Savonarola intent on "destroying" me for the past 30 years or so, ever since his doctoral dissertation (which, incidentally, he wrote under my supervision). I do not denounce him, nay, I even regard him with sympathy, for people so invariably obsessed are rare indeed. Needless to say, his attempt to sum up my article, plus his own commentary to it, is entirely mistaken as far as I am concerned. Yet, even if I would like to discuss it I would have nothing to go by, because you cannot discuss a medley of horrified exclamations and epithets. Let me inform Ladosz, who also lashed out against Jerzy J. Wiatr and Werblan, that many Polish comrades received the incriminated text long before the book was published.

To Opara, I appear to be a "Talmudic (?) dogmatist," to Ladosz--fancy that--I am an "extreme revisionist."

With this I conclude my recapitulation, which is troublesome and unpleasant, if you consider the tone of some articles. Unfortunately, I have no space left (this article is too long anyway) to reply to the letters I have mentioned. Some were really interesting in the way they tackled certain problems which are quite different from those discussed above. As for the "pouting" a certain "old" group has been displaying, we can ignore it. Apart from a small and closed group of people, no one is interested in them.

Before concluding, let me mention the nice article entitled "Marxists: A Time for Unification?" by Stanislaw Bucholá [TU I TERAZ, 13 Jul 83], the substance of which I have said I agree with. I do indeed, but only theoretically. For, in practice, even if you take for granted the fact that a Marxist is anyone who prefers to describe himself as one, how can you possibly achieve such a unification? And with whom? There are many people with whom I would not like to be unified at any price. These people can only harm the cause of restoring confidence to Marxism and its prestige.

CONTROVERSY OVER SCHAFF, MARXISM CONTINUES

Discussions Not Confined to Marxists

Warsaw TU I TERAZ in Polish No 40, 5 Oct 83 pp 9,14

[Article by Bogdan Owczarek]

[Text] The Marxism discussion today is not merely the private affair of Marxists. The events of the past 3 years that have laid bare the social conflicts and shortcomings of the socialist reality in Poland have brought home more clearly than ever before the paradoxical status of contemporary Marxism.

On the one hand, the events have exposed the growing unsuitability of the ideals and values of its social theory for the painful and unpleasant daily reality of the socialist country. On the other hand, although it may seem surprising, practical problems have driven home the growing need for such theory to clarify current events, determine their causes and grasp the basic conflicts of social life. One source of complication is the fact that the social crisis has exposed the dwindling value of certain Marxist theoretical concepts, or of concepts ascribed to Marxism, while at the same time bringing home the compelling need to use Marxism to explain these very conflicts and their complications. In the first instance, Marxism has experienced its own real drama; its hopes lie in the second.

Due to these circumstances, it is with much attention and interest that I have followed the articles of Adam Schaff first in TU I TERAZ and then in ZDANIE and STUDIA FILIZOFICZNE, expecting to see a development of the discussion and the author's replies. Recently A. Schaff has published subsequent articles in TU I TERAZ. I would not return to the professor's articles, but there are a number of questions to which I could not find answers either in the ongoing discussion or in the author's summations. I should stress that in my opinion, A. Schaff has succeeded in his provocative article "A Crisis of Marxism or of the Marxists?" in pointing out the currency of the Marxism problem and in expressing this in an interesting manner. The ensuing discussion, however, has not always hit upon the most important questions. Despite the many interesting observations made by discussants, they have not always managed to appreciate the full weight of the issue at hand.

A philosopher is not an anonymous figure for the Marxists (this has inclined polemicists too often to be personal in their discussions); his opinions are of great ideological and theoretical significance. In such a case, ignoring the doubts that have been expressed would be giving short shrift to the author and the issue.

#### What Did Marx Write?

The authors of "German Ideology" speak in fact of the necessary conditions for the success of the communist revolution, above all a high level of economic development in countries in which revolution breaks out, and moreover its worldwide (universal) scope. Otherwise, social relations affected by revolution alone will return to their former state, restoring the "previous mess." In his summary of the discussion, Schaff has given an exhaustive description of these conditions.

The entire problem is not based upon the fact that someone would like to refute these statements from the "Ideology," but on the fact that according to journalists, the creators of Marxism "never departed from these assumptions" (ZDANIE 1983, No 4, TU I TERAZ No 32, 1983). This makes them into the "last word" of Marxism, unchanged throughout the entire life of its creators. This is a gross oversimplification.

In the first place, in the later works, the belief that the communist revolution (revolution of the proletariat) must be executed "with one stroke" and "simultaneously" throughout the entire world does not recur. In "The Eighteenth Brumaire" Marx characterized the proletarian revolution (that he predicted would come in the 19th century) in distinction from the bravura and total turmoil of bourgeois revolutions: they "break their continuity," "sneer" at their earlier achievements and "back away," stricken by the enormity of the tasks that face them until circumstances arise that make a reversal impossible. "Hic Rhodus, hic salta." Without exaggeration, this maxim becomes a call to arms and a theoretical guidepost for Marx from this time on. In "Civil War in France" Marx writes clearly after the fall of the Paris Commune that the working class has learned that in order to achieve its own liberation, it must undergo a lengthy period of struggle and many historical processes that will transform people and circumstances.

As is evident, the views of the classical Marxists evolved gradually, over the years becoming characterized by more and more sobriety and caution in detailing the conditions of revolution and the form of future society. Moreover, in "German Ideology" the discussion is of communism and the communist revolution and not of socialism and the revolution leading to it. This apparently insignificant difference in terminology in reality uncovers a difference in concepts. We touch upon the issue of the considerable evolution of Marx's views. It is known that his early thoughts on the communist revolution were characterized by a rather poetic sort of optimism, a susceptibility toward the description of the extremely rich and rapid coming to fruition of the vision of the society of the future. In his later output, the author of "Das Kapital" perceives the inevitable need for a transitional period between capitalism and communism. In "A Critique of the Gotha Program," writing

on this topic, he characterizes the transitional period as a form of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Here he envisages two successive phases of the communist society: during the first phase, the principle "according to labor" is to remain in effect to enable the principle "according to need" to take effect in the second phase.

The evidence that Marx's views on the revolution and the society of the future, sketched out only briefly here, did evolve, clearly refutes the basic thesis of Professor Schaff that the theory presented in the "Ideology" still holds in Marxism, and that the problems of socialism are a consequence of the failure to regard the conditions stipulated in this theory. It would be nearer the truth to state that practice, the historical events themselves showed Marx all the utopianism of his earlier assumptions. Without regret he recalls "German Ideology" over a decade later: "We were all the more willing to leave the manuscript to the acerbic criticism of the mice since we had achieved our primary purpose--we had clarified the issue for ourselves."

There is still another aspect of the professor's ideas. Arguments based on the assumption of the universality of revolution and economic maturity as conditions for the success of the socialist revolution are not a new idea in the history of Marxism. They echo the conditions laid down by various ideologs within the framework of the Second Internationale and by the Russian Social Democrats before the October Revolution. At that time as well there were warnings against half-baked revolutionary schemes, charges of voluntarism and reservations that existing conditions were not ripe for the outbreak of the revolution and the establishment of socialism. History took another route. Obviously, while the historicity of the arguments broached by A. Schaff cannot be the sole reason for rejecting them, it exposes their lack of originality. Reasoning based on the same arguments that is reiterated today likewise means something different. At that time socialism was merely a plan, while today it has become the experience of many people.

At the same time, an interpretation that thrusts the necessary condition of economic readiness into the forefront of Marx's theory on socialist revolution clashes inevitably with and opposes the Leninist concept of revolution and questions the advisability of the October Revolution and the entire revolutionary process in countries of the people's democracy after World War II. Adam Schaff must share these doubts.

Was Lenin a Voluntarist?

The author of the statements cited here does not speak of this directly: "The failure by architects of earlier socialist revolutions to fulfill Marx's conditions could not but lead to the weakness and problems of these revolutions" (ZDANIE). According to the author, two conditions for the success of revolution were violated: economic readiness and majority support. At the same time, Schaff envisages this as a universal formula for the success of all socialist revolutions.

I am of the opinion that, first of all, the issue of the October Revolution ought to be considered separately from subsequent socialist revolutions,

although every one of them was executed under different situations and according to different measures of the maturity of social conditions. Then what did Lenin violate when he bandied the battle cry of socialist revolution in 1917? Decidedly, the development of events (World War I) and the Russian political situation determined concretely the contemporary conditions of revolutionary maturity. It was known that the war could not be ended if the Kerenskiy government was not overthrown and that the prevailing chaos could not be halted without the elimination of the diarchy of the Provisional Government and the Workers' and Soldiers' Councils. The first goal of the Bolsheviks was to seize the political authority and not to usher in socialism "full force." At that time, Lenin repeated many times that Marxism differs from Blanquism in that it envisages the support of the majority. The Bolsheviks quickly gained this majority and announced the worker-peasant alliance; without this majority the victory in the civil war would have been impossible. It could be said, however, that this does not change things essentially, since Lenin did not apply any theory but merely reacted to the spontaneous course of events.

Meanwhile, as is known, the leader of the WKP(b) [All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks)] was very rigorous about his application of the theory of revolutionary maturity that he had sketched out during the pre-revolutionary years. It has become generally accepted to speak of this concept as a "weakest link" theory. It is true that at the time it was reckoned that the revolution in Russia would initiate an entire series of revolutions in particular countries, liquidating gradually the entire capitalist system. The turn of events in Europe and around the world forced the Soviet leaders to create the foundations of socialism in a single country.

The socialist revolutions after World War II in the countries of Central Europe issued from a different social and political base and were carried out in specific local conditions, despite converging tendencies. Ascribing to each of them at every moment of their history a lack of support of the majority attests to the author's haste rather than to his correctness. In order to learn the real facts and errors committed in them, an analysis of specific historical conditions must be made for each country and this must be done more scrupulously than it was done by Prof Schaff.

The problems and weaknesses of revolutions in existing socialist countries are not, in my opinion, the result of their departure from Marx's theories, nor are they a confirmation of this theory. Under Russian circumstances, the concept stated in "German Ideology" proved to be a far-removed hypothesis. The problems and weaknesses of the socialist states emanate from specific conflicts in the process of forming socialist relations in each of these countries separately and from the general situation in the contemporary world. They emanate from the violation of one or the other principle of socialism or from the impossibility of implementing these principles. In my opinion, they are less often the result of a departure from essential theory than the effect of the lack of skill to gain control of problems by means of existing theory or the lack of concrete proposals for settling problems at a given time or in the future. Lenin's work gives us evidence that there are no eternal theories.

This does not dismiss the theoretical question of whether the revisions of the theory of revolution made by Lenin are a departure from Marxism or its advancement.

### Theory and Practice

It has become common to treat the unity of theory and practice as the foundation of Marxism. It wends its way through the works of the classical Marxists beginning from their earliest theses that proclaim the alliance of philosophy and the proletariat, through "Das Kapital" and the later works of Engels. This theme is evident in the personal theoretical and political work of the creators of Marxism. Consequently, when A. Schaff demonstrates that Marxist practice has failed and that its theory is still sound and healthy, he thereby states that the foundation of Marxism has been violated. The logic of the professor's arguments indicates that the breakdown has occurred between the theory of the classical Marxists and the practice of their descendants; it has divided Marx and Lenin.

The history of Marxism does not isolate concepts that demonstrate enthusiastically that there is a fundamental difference between the young and the mature Marx or that clearly prove the preponderance of the "better" work of Marx over the "poorer" output of Engels. Moreover, one also encounters the notion (and its many supporters) that Marxism really ends with Marx and Engels, with which the work of Lenin really has nothing in common. Often this leads to a negation of the existence and the needs of Marxism-Leninism (see PREZENTACJE 1983, No 7, pp 42-43), including among Marxists. While I do not maintain that this is Professor Schaff's position, I do point out that the logic of his arguments in support of his own concept of Marxism marks out this position for him.

Were we to compare the later works of Marx and Engels with the work and statements of Lenin, however, we would discover no fundamental difference. Certainly they are different personalities, inclined to different reactions in practice. Where theory is concerned, however, they converge on a basic point: the unity of theory and practice. The entire evolution of Marx's views from his early writings through his mature works (evolution does not mean that they are in opposition) reveals an interesting pattern. Broadly speaking, this pattern consists of the more and more overt consideration of the political factor and the conscious political action of the masses in the totality of historical materialism. This is expressed with great and greater interest, under the impact of the events that are taking place, in the role of political institutions--the state, political parties, the official apparatus, propaganda and the like, in the processes of social change. Under the impact of the events of the Spring of Nations and the Paris Commune, the writings of Marx begin to show more and more cautious forecasts with regard to the future communist revolution, with more and more time designated for their preparation and finalization. At the same time, it becomes clear that revolution is impossible without a politically organized proletariat. This was no accident. Events modified the theoretical assumptions made earlier. To use Gramscian's expression, Marxism more and more distinctly assumes the form of a practical philosophy, i.e., a theory of social reality based on practice from which, like Antaeus, it draws its strength. In a letter to Bracke that prefaces the

"Critique of the Gotha Program," a telling sentence appears that in my opinion best expresses the essence of Marx's views of the time. "Every step of the actual movement is more important than a dozen programs."

I believe that the concrete theoretical and political work of Lenin was the full embodiment of this principle. And so, while it seemed at the time that theoretically an already familiar variant should be selected as the leader of the Soviet state, an unconventional solution was decided upon, frequently in opposition to contemporary comrades. This was the case during the initiative behind the armed uprising against the Provisional Government, over the issue of concluding the Brest treaty with the Germans and on the question of instituting the NEP [New Economic Policy] Program. All of these cases were decided by a sober and thorough analysis of the political and social situation and by the anticipation of the possible impact of the decision that was made upon the outcome of the Soviet revolution. Acting in this manner, Lenin was not motivated by voluntarism as his critics are inclined to say, but by a deep understanding of the principle of the unity of theory and practice, i.e., by the essence of Marxism as a self-correcting theory of social reality. In this sense he was Marx's rightful heir and continuator.

Assessing the validity of and errors in the concepts underlying the decisions and views of the other continuators of Marx and Lenin, particularly the role of Stalin in the communist movement, is a separate issue.

The "transitional period" theory outlined only by Marx and Engels was supplemented by the practical work of Lenin and the Bolsheviks. It took on the form of a theory "in motion," a changing concept adapted to existing conditions and societal potential. This theory does not maintain that the development of socialist relations takes place without disruption and crises, nor does it guarantee any given stages for one solution or another. It does not take for granted that socialism is not subject to reform, a view held by many observers of events in Poland; according to it, every status quo is merely a transitional state. As a theory that rejects nonpractical guarantees it is rough and crude; as a concept envisaging the ephemeral nature of the present that must consider people "aware of their goals" in social actions it is a deeply humanistic theory. Lenin loved to quote one of Goethe's famous maxims:

"My friend, all theory is gray  
But green is the golden tree of life."

As Aleksander Ochocki demonstrated persuasively in his excellent book "Dialektyka i historia" [Dialectics and History], Lenin was the only one of Marx's successors to undertake an open dialectic with "Das Kapital" and to apply this in life.

#### Toward Modern Marxism

The concept "crisis" may also mean a turning point. The breakdown of a given way of practicing Marxism, largely dependent upon existing circumstances, does not take for granted that another method initiated under different circumstances will yield the same results. Those that practice Marxism likewise determine

results. Author A. Schaff reminds us of this connection as he judges the crisis of the Marxists. He envisages the supersedence of preceding practice in external factors--in the democratization of intellectual life, in freedom of speech and in the reorganization of the institutions formally appointed for the practice of Marxism.

Schaff writes: "If the Marxist theory of man is a stimulus for the development of theory--always a vital source of such development--the theory of alienation in Marxist writings serves not only as an inspiration for theory but likewise has a direct practical, pragmatic significance. It is this theory that, by explaining the world, aids in its transformation in practice" (TU I TERAZ 1983, No 35). The nucleus of the proposed version of Marxism is thus the theory of alienation. The more unripe conditions were for the socialist revolution, the more indispensable it became. And, as practice demonstrates, alienation from all sides attacks the institutions and social apparatus in operation in socialist countries. Its ubiquitousness only accentuates the need for attempts at de-alienation. Marxism in the proposed dimension would be a sort of model explaining the mechanisms underlying the coming into being of the phenomena of alienation and those phenomena that forecast the conditions that enable their liquidation.

Contrary to the categorical nature of the professor's remarks, I believe that the theory of alienation in Polish Marxism is no longer a "heresy," that the dangers of alienation are not ignored and that all attempts to conquer it are valued; both philosophical journalists and deliberating party bodies concern themselves with these problems. For, what are economic reform and the "renewal" of social life in Poland in reality but a massive attempt to vitiate the mechanisms of alienation present in our society in the past. The problem of alienation and its opposite, de-alienation, are primarily practical questions today, in my opinion. Since they are becoming apparent in the practice of socialism, it is only through practical means that alienation may be overcome. After such phenomena are recognized and located, theory is virtually helpless.

A. Schaff loves repetition. As I have pointed out, the thesis on the economic conditions underlying the implementation of the socialist revolution is a reiteration of the views of the turn-of-the-century Social Democrats. Raising the alienation theory to the level of a key theme of contemporary Marxism is a self-reiteration. In fact, the author himself points this out, making reference to his own publications and discussions from the 1960's. In his enthusiasm over the alienation theory, the author gives no evidence of former polemics and the critical arguments of opponents. Were the arguments of the alienation theory critics really given full consideration?

In contrast to the author, I believe that the arguments of critics that show the tendency of philosophers committed to the alienation theory to isolate the human individual from his historical and social milieu, to make light of his specific and ever changing ties with reality that frustrates or changes the most noble ideas of philosophers and their tendency to call the alienation theory a new religion of humanism whose message is a new cult of Man--these arguments neither were nor are merely an aberration of "dogmatic" reason.



Although I do not share the pointless, mechanical interpretation of historical materialism advanced by L. Althusser, I would be more careful in my consideration of his criticism of the typical shortcomings of humanists in the discussion of alienation.

Meanwhile, A. Schaff theorizes and becomes entangled in contradictions. For example, in the article "Marxism Today" (STUDIA FILOZOFICZNE No 3/1983), devoted primarily to the issue of alienation, there is an inconsistency between the statement of the alienation of the socialist revolution, i.e., the process of the deterioration of its results and the belief that revolution itself is of a permanent nature. If we develop both ideas, we must conclude that the socialist revolution, due to its immaturity, is subject to alienation. Consequently, we should be guided by abstinence from all revolution in the future. Or, like Marx, we maintain that the most effective method of de-alienation is to "make" a revolution, and in this way the socialist revolution is of a continuous nature. Professor Schaff warns against one and finds consolation in the other.

### The Sense of the Crisis

The crisis of the Marxists of which Schaff writes is also, of necessity, a crisis of Marxism. There is, after all, no Marxism without Marxists. According to the author of "Marxism and the Human Individual" the crisis is manifested in the retreat of the Marxists from Marxism, in its failure to attract the intelligentsia and young people. While I appreciate the critical importance of these phenomena to the successful argumentation of the issue, I still consider them to be secondary phenomena. Unfortunately, I am not familiar with the professor's book "The Communist Movement at the Crossroads" [Ruch komunistyczny na rozdrożu], where the author perhaps analyzes more extensively the causes of the perceptible erosion of the impact of Marxism in the Western world.

In order to gain an understanding of the weakness of contemporary Marxism in Poland and in the West, one would have to make an objective and careful analysis of the social and political reality throughout the world and in socialist countries following World War II, and particularly following the 20th CPSU [Communist Party of the Soviet Union] Congress. Since I am not in a position to perform such an analysis, nor do I know of any such study, I would like to make some suggestions.

The political turn that took place after World War II, borne out by the coming into being of many new socialist states in Europe and throughout the world and the changes in the communist movement after the 20th Congress determined and even imposed a new rhythm for events and a more rapid rate of change than ever before. At the same time, we are dealing with a new economic and political situation throughout the world to which Marxism (Marxists) reacted too slowly or in an inadequate way. I also believe that the inability or the delay in reacting theoretically to this new, rapidly changing situation largely were responsible for the crisis suffered by Marxism (the Marxists). The reasons for this situation are numerous and complex.

The new situation, and particularly in a manner apparent to us, the events in Poland in recent years have revealed the breakdown of certain aspects of Marxist practice. In my opinion, these are characterized by the following phenomena: a) the isolation or the self-isolation of Marxism from social practice, b) the division of Marxism into its practical version, practiced by the party apparatus and the mass media and the academic version cultivated at schools and scholarly institutes and limited or self-limited to the history of Marxism or general methodology, c) a lack of bold ideas to facilitate the grasping of the order of the new reality. The last shortcoming is particularly serious today. It think that the issue of opening up or "renewing" Marxism is not at all reduced to the sudden censuring of dogmatism, whose role in contemporary Marxism Schaff clearly overvalues; nor is it a call for creativity. The problem is a more radical one. Allow me to use an example. At the 11th WKP(b) Congress, a polemic took place between Lenin and Preobrazhenskiy over the theoretical question of "state capitalism in socialism." Preobrazhenskiy said that "capitalism is capitalism" regardless of the circumstances. In his reply, Lenin proved vividly and colorfully that his opponent's conclusion was based on old examples, meanwhile the problem of state capitalism in socialism is a practical question that no one has justified or overturned theoretically, since no such model is known and no books have been written on such a case.

Hence it is my impression that the contemporary discussion of Marxists over the reform of socialist reality too often resembles studies of ancient books about some totally distinct subject. The traditional argument between "dogmatism" and "revisionism" today calls to mind a controversy between the readers of two different kinds of textbooks. Meanwhile it happens more and more often that Marxism must substantiate its arguments and concepts in the face of formerly unknown and unclassified phenomena. Today's test of Marxism occurs in such situations. *Hic Rhodus, hic salta.*

On the other hand, much attests to the fact that the professor's proposals and his impressions have past roots. The point of reference of his political and ideological diagnoses is primarily the year 1956, and the period after this date closes finally with March 1968. He thinks and moves within these bounds. It seems that despite his efforts, the professor was not able to escape the enchanted circle. His journalism simply reacts too weakly to the reality of recent years and presents neither the causes nor assessments of the conflicts and contradictions that took place in Poland during the past years. With all due sympathy for his intentions to defend Marxism, I note the failure of the version proposed by A. Schaff, frozen in and adapted to another age.

As a result we are faced with a paradox. Acting in defense of Marxism, Schaff destroys it, at least partly. In selecting as the goals of his argumentation Marx's early concept of revolution, the author had to bypass an entire series of events, facts and re-evaluations made in the history of Marxism. Perhaps this is the price of those repeated statements that draw him back into the past unwittingly. It is unlikely that he did not know of these re-evaluations, since a Marxist of such status and experience could not but know of them.

I have often asked myself why such a high price is paid to defend the relatively scholarly thesis of the crisis of the Marxists without Marxism. Obviously, the answer is the author's private affair. Nonetheless, his articles also raise questions of a psychological nature. At some point one must assume that a philosopher's articles are also evidence of a burning quest for greater sense and a clearer light amid a difficult reality. The belief that we will find this at the source is simplistic. The few sentences from "German Ideology" so often quoted by the professor are too hypothetical to be taken seriously. They are consoling because the experiences of the present are so painful. Keeping in mind their unrealistic nature, Marxism does not seek confirmation of them within itself, but learns wisdom from reality.

#### Schaff's Attitude Toward Adversaries Contested

Warsaw TU I TERAZ in Polish No 40, 5 Oct 83 p 8

[Article by Ryszard Gradowski]

[Text] The discussion with Prof Adam Schaff is tedious and affords no satisfaction. He is extremely contemptuous of his adversaries, upbraids them for no reason at his student seminar, reprimands them and praises them (but this latter less often), reproaches them for their intellectual inferiority and sometimes even hurls insults at them.

In general, Prof Adam Schaff has adopted a fine, convenient principle for himself, that people that think differently than he does are an "obstacle on the road of the creative development of Marxist thought..." and the principle of the breakdown of the "present ideological crisis." He has vacillated with this kind of thinking. In the past, Prof Schaff often erred, as one can prove readily by the statement that at one time this was the style that "prevailed in Marxist literature..." What is the guarantee that he is not in error now since he does a character assassination on those that think differently than he does and then chalks it all up to the prevailing style of criticism?

Let us be careful then with the verdict that those that think differently "In the work of rebuilding confidence in Marxism and its prestige can... only cause harm" and are in the wrong. We will find that out in the future.

Meanwhile, after 14 years abroad, Prof A. Schaff lectures others and distorts the terms on which he would like to get together and with whom. I used to think that he meant the party that was in Poland upon his return. Now I find that in his writings he indicates that there are not many people in the party with whom he would get together for any reason. Is this a call to divide the party?

After putting his adversaries "in their place" in this way, Prof A. Schaff, having calmed his obviously shattered nerves, quietly holds onto his own views. In my opinion, these are false views.

The essence of the polemic over Prof A. Schaff's articles reduces itself essentially to an assessment of the potential and the prospects of the socialist revolution in Poland and the other real socialist countries. The major theses of Prof Adam Schaff is the view based on the idea of Marx and Engels that the necessary conditions for the success of the socialist revolution are:

- the distribution of wealth immediately following the revolution;
- the existence of a highly developed working class;
- a high level of economic development based upon complex modern technology.

If these conditions are not fulfilled, the country is not ready for socialism and, as Prof Schaff maintains, "The source of our problems lies in the fact that our country was not ready for socialism." Thus, in the opinion of A. Schaff, the Polish Left in 1944 should have "exhibited patience in revolution, directing the revolutionary movement along another course...", as Lenin did in 1905. In other words, it should have refrained from defending the authority.

This kind of thinking does not take into consideration the maturity and positive role of domestic social forces in Poland that declared themselves in favor of People's Poland, i.e., workers, peasants and a large majority of the intelligentsia, and the readiness of these classes to take up the tasks of the socialist revolution in Poland, under the direction of the existing Marxist-Leninist party and with the participation of the people's Polish Army, i.e., the workers and the peasants dressed in military uniform.

Had these internal forces not been considered, the creation of People's Poland would have been actually imposed by external forces--as is maintained today by the enemies of People's Poland.

In another place, A. Schaff explains that Marx even issued a ban against revolution. That is to say that "he does not mean a ban against all revolution if these conditions are not met, but only socialist revolution..." (TU I TERAZ No 11, 1983).

The previously noted conditions for socialist revolution are optimal. However, nowhere did Marx issue a "ban" against the defense of authority by the communists where there were favorable political and social conditions for this, and the country was poorly developed economically.

He advised only that "all the means of production be centralized within the hands of the state, i.e., in the hands of the proletariat as organized as the ruling class and that the mass of production forces be increased as quickly as possible" (Communist Manifesto, Warsaw 1948, p 109; see also Marxs--Engels, "Works" [Dziela], volume 3, pp 82-83).

Thus, Schaff's thesis of the "ban" on revolution and on Poland's unreadiness for the socialist revolution are merely words that have no backing in detailed research. And they are particularly unfounded in the age of imperialism, when revolutions may break out in poorly developed countries economically that are weak links of the system--as was demonstrated theoretically by Lenin.

What should the communist party do then?

Should it not seize the authority? Should it plead weak development? Perhaps A. Schaff wishes to prove the idea that the more developed the economy taken over during the course of the socialist revolution by the new authority, the better. But this is banal.

The "increase in the mass of production forces" in People's Poland, as is known, has taken place in a particularly painful manner, plagued with problems and crises. This is largely the fault of the people that decided the country's economy, their incompetence and their lack of experience, as well as their lack of the necessary preparation.

Thus, we may not relieve them of their responsibility and chalk everything up to the so-called objective conditions and the alleged facts.

On the other hand, the past period of the history of People's Poland is not totally lost. It is not a period of marking time due to the supposed lack of conditions and the country's "unripeness" for socialism. It is also a period of the revolutionary move to rebuild the Polish economy and the entire structure of Polish society. Stanislaw Kuzinski writes correctly that "the ignorance, and more often the ill will of those that say that we must begin from zero, that the years that separate us from the July Manifesto have not yielded anything but distortion and error must make us highly indignant." (NOWE DROGI, No 7, 1983, p 39).

There is no reason for breastbeating or for saying that the revolution is being executed against the supposed "ban" of Marx. This is no bombastic display of patriotism but a calm and sober view of the path marked out by People's Poland.

Next, Prof Schaff regrets that I have stressed that his arguments concur with the views of all of the anticommunist forces in the West. What can I say to this? Unfortunately, it is an objective fact. Please take a look, for example, at the book of the anticommunist Arnold Kunzla, published in 1969 in Freiburg and entitled "Uber Marx hinaus." In this book we find the same argument: that the USSR was not ready for communism, its industry was weak, the proletariat was weak in numbers and there was a dictatorship over the proletariat--in a word, conditions were not ripe for socialism.

Also Karl Paul Hensel, a West German anticommunist and political scientist, in a book published in Stuttgart in 1977 entitled "Systemvergleich als Aufgabe" writes of the essentially undemocratic planned economic and governmental policy of, and the evil inherent in socialism.

Obviously, Schaff's subjective sharing of these views does not incriminate him, but the concurrence of the texts is apparent.

Another question. Prof A. Schaff wonders why and asks why I list Minc, Berman and Zambrowski as responsible for the perversions of the 1950's. This shows that Prof A. Schaff does not know what is going on. So, I am explaining it and reminding him. Minc had in his hands the direction of the entire national

economy. Berman directed the entire, so-called ideological front and the apparatus of coercion (MBP [Ministry of Public Security]--the original combination). Zambrowski directed the party apparatus in the country and, for a certain period, the agricultural ministry.

Thus, they controlled all the authority in the most important fields of the country's economy. They were three people.

Next, Prof A. Schaff is indignant that I point out the employees of the INS [Institute of Social Sciences] that left the country and do harm to Poland there. Prof A. Schaff, however, makes a curious statistical move. Namely, he compares the number of those scientific workers that left to the total number, but of INS graduates. It amounts to less than one percent. How many people did this trifling amount really represent? Ostensibly only 5 that left compared with 800 INS graduates.

However, this figure is a hoax, one might say "nonsense," [bzdura] for that is Prof Schaff's favorite term in his polemic with me. One should compare the number of employees that left the country, and I emphasize, scientific workers compared with the total number of INS scientific employees, educators and instructors. Then we have an indication of those that "erred" as Prof Schaff says, by fleeing the country. This amounts to about 50 percent of all scientific workers that went abroad, or 21 scientific workers (names on request).

That is a problem that sheds light on internal relations in INS.

Prof Adam Schaff writes that "The insinuation that INS was a dogmatic institution that was endorsed by someone's bad policy...is simply nonsense."

This is a pigheaded remark that has no basis in truth. Prof Schaff knows best that the party school is the child of the party leadership. The then leaders of the party carried out a dogmatic policy and demanded that the institution bow to the general party line. The entire process of studies at INS had to correspond to this ossified and dogmatic policy that extended to the field of education as well.

Here we should point out that the everyday work of INS was supervised not by Bierut, as Prof Schaff maintains, but by Jakub Berman and Roman Zambrowski. This was clear and obvious.

Nor is writing and speaking about this the "pure nonsense" that Prof Schaff so elegantly calls it.

Prof Adam Schaff is indignant at me and accuses me of--again with his subtle language--"spitting on INS."

No, Professor Schaff, I do not spit on INS, but I defend the institution from which I graduated (although I received my doctorate from Warsaw University) and for which I have personal feelings from those that disappointed the hopes placed in them and in this way "spit" on it, that ran away from Poland, there

to slander and really "spit" on People's Poland whom they have to thank for their education, their academic degrees and titles, their positions and thier fine conditions of material existence compared with Polish conditions and potential.

It is a shame that Prof A. Schaff does not see this, but allows himself to be carried away with the knowledge that others consider him to be among the intellectual elite.

8536

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PROVINCIAL PARTY ACTIVITIES NOTED

Poznan Province Party Resolution

Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 5 Sep 83 pp 1, 3

[Text] Concerning the improvement of party work methods for realization of the Ninth PZPR Central Committee Plenum in the matter of letters and complaints presented to the echelons and party organizations within Poznan Province.

I. The Poznan Provincial Committee [KW] of the PZPR, at its plenary meeting of 28 August 1983, after familiarizing itself with the KW Executive Board's material and the subjects involved in discussions of the plenary meeting, confirmed that the resolution of the PZPR Central Committee Plenum concerning procedures in handling letters and complaints directed to echelons and party organizations has in reality been standardized and put into practice by the echelons and party organizations.

II. Having concern for more effective solutions to workers' problems which are reported to party echelons, the Poznan Provincial Committee of the PZPR obligates:

1. echelons and party organizations to continue consistent incorporation into practice the decisions of the Ninth PZPR Central Committee Plenum and instructions of the PZPR Central Committee Secretariat pertaining to resolutions of problems contained in letters and complaints reported to the echelons and party organizations;

2. all party members, especially those active within national economy administrative bodies, to focus their attention on thorough, objective and prompt undertaking of determinations by statutory organs, or matters presented in proposals, stipulations, complaints and indications from the public in accordance with well perceived social interests.

III. The Provincial Committee requires echelons and party organizations to administer basic party instructions relating to persons neglecting or disregarding their assigned duties, particularly in the area of service to the public.



IV. One of the main sources of public complaints directed to the party is the matter of housing. In connection with this, the Provincial Committee places responsibility on the echelons and party members, particularly on those in economic and administrative management for taking advantage of all initiatives for the promotion of housing development and building renewal. Special attention should be given to fair housing allocations.

V. The Poznan Provincial Committee recommends that the primary level echelons organize periodic meetings of party and administrative authorities with the citizens, at locations of their residence, in work establishments and offices.

VI. The Plenum of the Provincial Committee in Poznan obligates the echelons and party organizations to implement the resolution objectively and to take into account in their activity programs, proposals emanating from discussions.

PZPR Provincial Committee in Poznan

Poznan, 26 August 1983

#### Lack of Arguments Against Party

Bydgoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish 7 Sep 83 p 3

[Article by Marek Trzebiatowski]

[Text] We have begun to speak more freely about party matters. About those that are popular as well as those that are not too well accepted. This is evidence that our party organization is becoming an important force in our establishment and not just a statistician following progressive changes, states Eng Marek Wesolowski of the KFFIL [Kujaw Paint and Lacquer Factory] in Wloclawek.

This reflection of the first secretary of a departmental party organization [OOP], as will be evident in further conversations with party members in KFFIL, will prove to be a commentary applicable to all activities of PZPR in this factory. These are very diversified opinions embracing a wide range of administrative-organizational and plant problems. To gain respect, says the secretary of the basic party organization [POP], Bogumil Wolczak, we have to care not only for our own condition, but also for the frame of mind of the whole labor force. Because of this, in daily proceedings, there are many problems which disturb young staff members.

However, before this came about, the basic party organization of KFFIL had to achieve stability. That this was not an easy task can be evidenced even by the fact that it required three reporting conferences to be called. Nobody will deny that a long cure was required for the arrhythmia, and that the process was not easy. It did not come to violent upheavals or clashes. However, only lengthy individual discussions with workers and the technical staff permitted the actual realization of our strength and capabilities. Eleven people left the party ranks and presently the organization has 177 members. In this number there are only 65 laborers. This "only" often comes up in KFFIL discussions.

We realize, states Marek Wesolowski, the OOP secretary at the Department of Container Production, that it is still difficult to enroll people into the ranks of the PZPR. They are still suspicious and it is this lack of confidence which is the principal reason for the "no." In this situation not much can be gained by explanations or verbal assurances. As pointed out by KFFIL comrades, people will be more influenced by substantial results achieved by POP activities and measurable results of their efforts. Workers are closely following the effects of the party's undertakings, waiting for improvements in their own living conditions and genuinely honest initiation of the widely heralded principles of social justice. Only when the arguments are proven facts do many of them intend to join the party.

There is nothing else left, says the POP first secretary, Kazimierz Celmer, but to prove to the people that we are capable of achieving results. Most convincing to the workers are everyday practical improvements. Therefore, the POP has begun consistent promotions and motivations of activities in reforms and the generally acknowledged need for economizing. For example, party members of the mechanical and electrical shops proposed the establishment of standards for determining the effectiveness of economy moves. A decision was reached by the OOP concerning usable tin scrap metal in the packaging production division. The production line's daily output consists of a variety of different sized containers numbering 110,000 units. The inferior quality of material results in many shortages and a waste of components in short supply. Now we are hand-forming crowns and lids from the trimmings. This results in savings and provides more money for the people. From this departmental party organizational initiative emerged the idea to improve efficiency in the master mechanic's department. Productive suggestions were developed by the OOP which were implemented by the process men. I ask, did the master mechanic feel insulted that somebody took interest in the internal affairs of his department? Not at all; since he is a party member, he is obligated to follow party decisions. These moves, after all, are supported by the executive of the POP, which has to account methodically for the results attained by its divisional organizations.

Instituting reforms initially requires a complete knowledge of their complexities. We first of all had to learn their principles to become an equal partner with management, says POP secretary, Bogumil Wolczak. We organized seminars for party activists, and now that we are knowledgeable we can attempt productive discussions. We are attempting to disseminate this process downward. All workers of an establishment should be apprised of the end results of their efforts and the relationship of productivity to the wage scale.

Currently, the POP is trying to study the economy moves of the plant. The Executive Board is evaluating proposals for plant completions, analyzing the cost reduction programs and maintaining an influence on prospective expansions. A sensitive point in these attempts is the feeble cooperation of workers' self-government. Although there are PZPR members in these bodies, the POP has not as yet developed an appropriate formula for cooperative dealings with this important link. A solution to this problem will shortly come under discussion, but it is not known if the decisions will be adequate for corrective measures.

Unquestionably, self-government must follow general party line programs. On the other hand, as I hear at the facilities, nobody intends to interfere by declaring independence from representative authority.

In talks with comrades from KFFIL, often heard is the claim that there are no cases in which they are not involved. For instance, the POP periodically performs evaluations of living conditions among the still-unintegrated members of the crews. Further discussed were socio-existential conditions, vacations and provisions for winter. Presently the question of institutional housing cooperatives is at a standstill. The 30 housing units provided last year did not satisfy actual needs. At any rate, nobody figures that the scope of this problem will diminish in the near future. Nevertheless, states POP secretary Kazimierz Celmer, we will repeatedly come back to questions which supposedly it is better not to touch upon, but whose resolutions are of importance to our workers. The resolving of even just one significant problem is a matter of great importance and we expect that just such basic results will substantiate party activity approvals. The main point is to put an end to arguments of "no."

#### Results of Employment Cadre Review

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 15 Sep 83 p 2

[Article by bmk]

[Text] In regional offices of territorial organs of state administration in Chelm Province there are 971 employment positions, of which 329 are under provincial administration and 642 in primary level units. In addition to these there are rural agricultural service jobs. The total number of federal administrative positions within Chelm Province is 1160. The number of employees is 1025. These people as representatives of authority are the first to come in contact with the public. For this reason they are closely scrutinized and for many years have been criticized the most by their clientele. Probably only the business sectors and transportation industry can compete with the administration in the number of complaints filed regarding their services.

Taking into consideration the importance of existing problems, it was decided to conduct a review of personnel slated for appointments at all regional federal administrative offices. These were conducted by departmental (in the Provincial Office) gmina evaluating teams which worked under the supervision of department directors and the city and gmina managers. Assisting them were representatives of ZSL and SD party organizations.

Examiners reviewed and evaluated 900 out of 1023 cases at the provincial level. Of this number there were 236 (of 262) in the Provincial Office and 644 (of 763) in city and gmina offices. From these totals 886 persons (97.7 percent) were qualified for appointments. Approved were all of the Provincial Office personnel and 644 (out of 664) in city and gmina offices (96.9 percent). Of the 20 who were disqualified for appointment to city and gmina positions, 16 were recommended for transfer to other positions, while the remaining 4 were placed outside of the territorial state administrative organs.

Of the 900 persons reviewed, a rating of "exceptional" (highest possible) was achieved by 233, or 26.3 percent, "good" by 601, "satisfactory" by 63, with 1 "failing." All those receiving a passing rating agreed with their final assignments. Of the people working for the territorial organs of state administration, 212 have a higher education, 787 a secondary education, while 28 did not finish high school. The majority of personnel are women.

A criterion for state administrative efficiency is the accuracy of case determinations. Of the total 153,000 decisions rendered in 1982 by the provincial, city and gmina offices in Chelm Province, only 659 were appealed to administrative boards on the secondary level. This figure constitutes 0.43 percent of the total cases. Of this number, 311 were judged in favor of the petitioners (0.2 of all cases), while in 348, decisions were upheld.

The Supreme Administrative Court received 50 complaints on verdicts issued by offices of the Chelm provincial administration. In six cases the court rejected or declared them legally invalid. For 1982 our province attained the lowest number of justified complaints: 17.6 percent (the highest in the country was in the province of Slupsk: 52.5 percent).

This positive numerical evaluation of the achievements of state administrative organs should not produce undue self-complacency in office staffs.

The office employees have to explain all aspects of a case to a client, they have to be sensitive to a person's complaints, listen to all arguments attentively. They have to assist them expediently, within compliance with regulations, however. Incidental cases of improper treatment of a client should not be used as a general evaluation of the whole staff.

The Executive Board, upon reviewing the summary of evaluation results, indicated a necessity for selecting properly qualified personnel for the administrative staffs, as well as systematic education for them and improvements in professionalism.

In the future, when evaluating employees, public opinion (clients) should be considered, as well as the ratings of the Provincial Peoples Council Commission (or its presidium), together with the quality of work performed.

Attending the deliberations of the Executive Board as invited guests were representatives of the ZSL and SD Provincial Committees.

#### Field Trip Executive Party Meeting

Bialystok GAZETA WSPOLCZESNA in Polish 17-18 Sep 83 p 2

[Article by (c)]

[Text] On Thursday, 15 September, the Executive Board of the PZPR Provincial Committee in Bialystok conducted a field trip meeting to the railroad settlement of Czeremsza. Attending were representatives of the Regional Central Management of PKP [Polish State Railroads] Provincial Union of Agricultural Cooperatives [WZSR], in Bialystok, together with the local political and socio-economic aktiv. The governor of Bialystok, Kazimierz Dunaj, was also present.

The meeting was preceded by a visit to a number of railroad installations and areas related to agriculture. Observations of these were included in later discussions of the somewhat complex views on the work and living conditions of the local inhabitants.

The railroad terminal in Czeremsza is the second largest in Bialystok Province. Two freight rail lines run from here to the boundary of our eastern neighbors, the USSR. Through this point, passengers and freight trains run in both directions between Bialystok and Siedlce. When we add to this the fact that of the 1870 people employed in socialized economy positions in this village (the neighboring village has 4263 residents), as many as 1755 work for the railroad or services related to it, then we get the true picture of this industrial-agricultural conglomerate.

Perhaps this factual discussion, admittedly not devoid of controversy, because it is original and creative, brings closer into view a vision of the contemplated development of this important link, with its accompanying technical, economical and social structural foundation. It also allows for systematic introduction of assignments and responsibilities of principles involved. With this, optimism must be heightened, especially by the announced general modernization of this railroad terminal. In the coming year, work is to begin on a new depot and the necessary facilities for maintenance and accommodations for passenger services. Present facilities performing these functions are a series of overcrowded barracks, which give the impression that time came to a standstill somewhere in the latter part of the 19th century. Construction will proceed progressively on 100 dwellings in the first stage and another 100 in the second. Construction will continue within the same economic pattern as other important objectives are handled, namely the locomotive works, repair shop, social activity center and others. Electrification of this route, which is so important to the national economy, is not far off. These are only some of the plans for the near future.

The Executive Board of the Provincial Committee places the responsibility on PKP and the provincial authorities for coordinating the financial arrangements in connection with the plan for an extensive administration system of this settlement and a program for socioeconomic development of the village. It recommended a thorough investigation of the possibilities of establishing building facilities and assisting them in their efforts. It acknowledged the urgency for resolving problems connected with rudimentary public systems in the settlement, like heating, sewers, waste disposal, etc. Stressed also was the necessity for better utilization of farming methods to increase farm production and also a whole series of matters involving supplying and giving service to the inhabitants, which would necessarily include health care.

In the second point of order, the Executive Board of the Provincial Committee was informed of the progress of education at the WUML [Evening University of Marxism-Leninism].

12306

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# IASI PRIESTS VIOLATE PRINCIPLES GOVERNING RELIGIOUS ACTIVITY

Bucharest SCINTEIA TINERETULUI in Romanian 15 Oct 83 p 4

[Article by Serban Cionof: "There Can Be No Divergencies Between Respect for the Interests of the Community and Respect for Religious Belief"]

[Text] It is well-known that the activity of the religious faiths in Romania is carried out in the framework of legal regulations which ensure both the exercise of freedom of conscience and the implementation of other civic rights and obligations and the observance of the norms of socialist coexistence. Such regulations also presuppose the obligation of the members and workers of each religion to know and strictly respect, under all circumstances, the norms of conduct established by our state, norms which correspond to the fundamental interests of all citizens of the country, whether or not they are members of a religion. From this point of view, things are very clear.

This is all the more reason why no one can be allowed, for any reason, to place the right to practice a certain religious belief in opposition to the exercise of civil and social rights or, what is even more serious, to try, under the pretext of practicing a religious faith, to disregard the interests of our socialist society. Such things, wherever they might appear, should be thoroughly combatted, an action which should be taken, let us stress this, both in the name of our principles of work and life and on the basis of the demands and responsibilities of those who believe and work for the precepts of any religion permitted in the broad system of our democracy. However, we come across some situations, isolated, it is true, in which things are not always like this.

For example, there is the case of the two priests, Alexandru Suceu and Mihai Gal, both from Iasi County, ministers of a religion permitted by our laws, laws which they had the right and duty to respect above all. However, for some time, bad signs have been observed in their activity, in the way they have been treating some fellow villagers, who were indifferent to religion, if not atheists. They would attempt to demand the payment of excessively large sums of money as a precondition for carrying out some religious services and they would try to use various abusive means and methods, not at all holy, to entice the youth into religious practices or to blame and insult those who do not want to follow the "ways of faith."

For example, Mihai Gal refused to perform a religious service for the burial of a resident of the commune saying that, while he was alive, the person did not observe the precepts of the religion, carrying out his activity in the sphere of the community! Certainly, it is the right of each member to decide for himself to what extent he will or will not observe the rules of the religion and no one, for any reason, can pit the fulfillment of obligations to the social community against the right of a believer to be given the religious assistance requested. Indeed, Mihai Gal is known to the residents of Baltai Commune because of his efforts to impose the insane idea that a true believer should do everything he can to break away from the life of the collective, flagrantly contradicting and violating the essential principles and conditions under which the respective religion (Roman Catholic) carries out its activity in our country. In addition, during the agricultural campaigns, he has been stretching out the services excessively and systematically, resulting in the failure of the parishioners to fulfill their obligations to execute agricultural work in time and under good conditions. For good reason, they disapprove of such practices and notified us.

The priest Alexandru Suceu, in Raducaneni Commune, shows the same negative attitude toward our principles and norms of social coexistence. The priest Suceu was angry because, in the agricultural secondary school in the commune, there are rich, complex and varied educational and cultural activities for the youth, in which the young people participate with enthusiasm as organizers and beneficiaries. Envious because of this, he began to put pressure on some of the youths in the commune not only to convince them to become religious but also, and especially, to convince them to abandon such concerns [the educational and cultural activity]. One of the most courageous young women in the commune, Adriana Dumitrescu, angered his reverence very much. He scolded her openly, more than once, because she did not attend religious services regularly and allowed herself to be attracted by "nonbelievers." Does not his reverence know that such practices are considered to be attempts to interfere in the life of the youth, in their work and education?

It is less interesting whether or not he knew this fact (although he should have known it) since manifestations of this type are not isolated. More than once, he has taken pleasure in anathematizing fellow citizens who, supposedly, shirk their religious duties, ignoring the fact that such situations happen when the persons in question respond, as they should, with willingness and diligence, to the calls of the community and the demands of professional and civic activity.

It is encouraging that both public opinion in the respective communes and the local authorities of the religion have taken a firm attitude against such attempts to violate collective interests and principles on the part of some ministers of the faith who exceed their prerogatives and commit abuses such as those mentioned above. However, we have presented these two cases to our readers for the purpose of emphasizing, once more, the idea that not even the slightest divergency can exist between respect for the interests of the community and respect for religious faith and anyone who allows himself to ignore or violate this truth must, without doubt, be responsible to the citizens and must experience the harsh and just punishment of our society.

CSO: 2700/27

SUCSESSES OF MILITARY IN TRAINING, CONSTRUCTION, MINING

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 22 Oct 83 p 5

[Text] (AGERPRES)--On the occasion of the forthcoming anniversary of Armed Forces Day of the Socialist Republic of Romania, the members of the armed forces are presenting the country, the party, and the supreme commander, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu with a rich statement of actions.

The units subordinate to the command to which Colonel Teodor Andrita belongs reports fine achievements in the implementation of the political and combat training plans. The number of companies and platoons which were rated excellent, in this instruction period, was 14 percent higher than in the previous period. For battalions, the increase was 50 percent and for annual contingent specialists, the increase was 12 percent.

The large unit in which Officer Vasile Sima is secretary of the political council recently obtained a new top level rating in firing with the weapons available in the unit.

The border guards subordinate to the command in which the Officer Vasile Totorcea carries out his activity ended the instruction year with superior results in all categories of training. Successes have been achieved in carrying out border guard missions, in tactical exercises and maneuvers carried out in cooperation with units of the Ministry of the Interior, with the patriotic guards, with the detachments for the military training of youth and other defense formations. Remarkable results have also been obtained by the production units of the armed forces.

On one of the largest construction sites of the country, the Danube-Black Sea Canal, the soldiers are listing in the record of achievements dedicated to Armed Forces Day actions which are worthy of the mission entrusted to them. In October, a record month, the soldiers in the large unit in which Colonel Dan Mihalache works excavated 60,000 cubic meters of land in excess of the plan and finished 5,816 square meters on the slopes of the banks.

The soldiers subordinate to officers Victor Paris and Dumitru Muscalu, who are carrying on their activity in the coal mining areas, reported that, in honor of 25 October, they have fulfilled the exploration plan for the entire year of 1983, with the extraction of more than 5,200,000 tons of coal.



Also, soldiers engaged in industrial construction work on the large construction sites of the Galati, Calarasi, and Hunedoara iron and steel metallurgy combines, of the chemical and petrochemical plants in Giurgiu, Isalnita, Fagaras, Brazi, Navodari, and Teleajean, as well as at the naval shipyards in Mangalia, Constanta, Braila, Tulcea, Oltenita and in other places have fulfilled the construction-installation plan by 108 percent.

CSO: 2700/26

## ROMANIA

### BRIEFS

CEAUSESCU CABLES KARAMANLIS--To His Excellency, Mr Konstandinos Karamanlis, president of the Hellenic Republic. Flying over the territory of the Hellenic Republic, I want to convey warm greetings and best wishes for good health and happiness to you, as well as wishes for progress, prosperity and peace to the friendly Greek people. On this occasion, too, I want to express the conviction that through our joint efforts the positive Romanian-Greek relations based on full equality, esteem, and mutual respect will experience a sustained development at various levels in the interests and to the benefit of the two peoples and the cause of cooperation, understanding, and peace in the Balkans, in Europe, and throughout the world. Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania. [Text] [AU201720 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 19 Oct 83 p 2]

CEAUSESCU CABLES ZHIVKOV--To Comrade Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee general secretary and chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria. Flying over the territory of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, I would like to extend warm comradely greetings and best wishes for good health and personal happiness to you, as well as wishes for new successes to the friendly neighboring Bulgarian people in building the socialist society and in the fatherland's socioeconomic development. On this occasion, too, I want to express the conviction that the traditional relations of friendship and cooperation between our parties and countries will constantly develop in the spirit of understandings concluded during the meetings and talks we conducted together in the interests of the Romanian and Bulgarian peoples and the cause of socialism, cooperation, and peace in the Balkans, in Europe, and throughout the world. Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania. [Text] [AU201718 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 19 Oct 83 p 2]

MOSCOW EXHIBITION--An exhibition devoted to the Romanian Armed Forces Day opened in the USSR Armed Forces' Central Museum 21 October. The exhibits describe the armed forces' history and Romanian servicemen's current military routine. Among the mementos of combat camaraderie are gifts to the men of the Soviet Armed Forces from their Romanian friends. The opening ceremony was attended by officers and generals of the Soviet Armed Forces, Great Patriotic War veterans, and representatives of Moscow's public. An address was delivered at the opening ceremony by Major General Gheorghe Dinculescu, military, naval, and air attache at the Romanian Embassy in the USSR. [By Lt Col A. Popov] [Text] [PM241456 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 22 Oct 83 2d edition p 5]

CSO: 2700/33

## KOSOVO LEADER SELJANI ON PARTY ELECTION GOALS

LD220825 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1303 GMT 21 Oct 83

[Text] Pristina, 21 Oct (TANJUG)--The forthcoming elections must be used to achieve a revolutionary turning point in the activity of the Kosovo LC. This is an opportunity for all communists to "get on their feet" and put into operation a general mobilization of all socialist forces to implement the stabilization tasks of the political and economic situation in the province.

This political requirement of the Provincial Committee of the Kosovo KC was put forward today to secretaries of the presidiums of the municipal LC committees by Bajram Seljani, member of the Presidium of the Provincial Committee, in a discussion in which the operational election tasks were established.

Seljani emphasized that during the 3 months of electoral activity from the beginning of November this year to the end of January next year, three main goals must be attained. First, the basic organizations of the League of Communists must make a highly critical and self-critical evaluation of the state of affairs and of their own activity in their own environment, and also establish why there is disparity between the demands of the highest party requirements and practice. In this connection, it is necessary to analyze what it is which is burdening a number of basic organizations so that they are only slowly freeing themselves from routine attitudes, formalism, engagement in peripheral matters; and analyze why organizational and active forms of operation in individual agriculturalists.

Third, and most important, the elections must be used to deepen ideopolitical differentiation in the Kosovo LC. Not only the ideologically unsuitable must be removed from its ranks, but all those who have become so much ballast, who have lost the criterion of socialist morality and who block LC activity. The leading cadres in party organizations who are incapable of leading must be removed, particularly those who formalize, undervalue and usurp them for their own ends, Seljani said.

It was also pointed out at the meeting that the 3-month period of electoral activity must not be reduced to just 2, but if necessary--as it is-- a series of meetings and discussions should be organized at which actions can be rapidly made widespread, without any show, for greater output, consistent behavior and efforts to implement all that is demanded by the party decisions and other decisions at this crucial social moment.

YUGOSLAVIA

GOVERNMENT, PARTY LEADERS GREET TANJUG ON ANNIVERSARY

Spiljak Message

LD311212 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0950 GMT 31 Oct 83

[Text] Belgrade, 31 Oct (TANJUG)--Mika Spiljak, president of the SFRY presidency, today sent the following message to the collective of the TANJUG NEWS AGENCY in connection with the 40th anniversary of its formation:

On behalf of the SFRY presidency and on my own behalf I am conveying cordial felicitations to you in connection with the formal observance of the 40th anniversary of the formation and work of TANJUG.

TANJUG was set up in Jajce 40 years ago and was already then incorporated into the foundations of the new Yugoslavia. The first news by the new Yugoslav agency transmitted into the world from Jajce concerned the heroic struggle that our peoples, led by Tito and by our party, were waging in the heart of Europe. TANJUG was the first to inform the world that nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia, by decision of the Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia, had resolved to decide themselves about their own future.

TANJUG grew and developed with the support of our entire community and as a result of exceptional effort by several generations of its workers, so that we can say with satisfaction that it has risen to be today among those agencies that have the most influence and enjoy the best reputation in the world.

TANJUG has a paramount significance in our system of information. It informs the Yugoslav and world public objectively and quickly about events in Yugoslavia and in the world. Its efforts for the democratization of the international information system and especially its involvement to ensure information about the activity and actions of the nonaligned movement reaches all parts of the world is also of great significance.

Throughout these 40 years the TANJUG workers with selfless work and broadest possible social involvement have made an exceptional contribution to the

affirmation of the principles and policy of the socialist, self-management and nonaligned Yugoslavia, a community of fraternal and equal nations and nationalities.

I am convinced that in the future too the TANJUG collective will fulfill its tasks with the same devotion and responsibility. I wish you new successes in your work.

#### Markovic Message

LD311817 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1521 GMT 31 Oct 83

[Text] Belgrade, 31 Oct (TANJUG)--Dragoslav Markovic, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, has sent greetings to the TANJUG NEWS AGENCY on behalf of the Presidium and his own behalf on the occasion of the agency's 40th anniversary. The greetings read:

The greetings and wishes for successful work reaching you at the moment mean recognition for TANJUG's great and valuable contribution to the victory of the socialist revolution and to the socialist construction of the country, which was realized by spreading the truth about the national liberation struggle and the socialist revolution and, later, through the gigantic efforts of the working people and citizens of all regions of Yugoslavia in overcoming poverty, achieving a speedy material development, and mastering and safeguarding socialist, self-management and democratic relations in society worthy of mankind. As the agency of nonaligned Yugoslavia, TANJUG has made an enormous contribution to the dissemination of the truth about the nonaligned countries and their struggle for liberation, equality and peaceful development and the struggle for a new information order in the world. The journalists and all the other working people in TANJUG have, over the many years of service in informing the public, contributed greatly to the affirmation and development of Yugoslav journalism, even when they have not managed to realize all their tasks and plans.

The role of TANJUG is exceptionally important today, too, when the whole of society is faced by the tasks of economic stabilization and the more consistent development of socialist self-management, and when the struggle for the public nature of work and the all-round, objective and timely informing of the working people and citizens will mean an important contribution to general social progress, Dragoslav Markovic, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium stresses in his greetings.

CSO: 2800/61

## MAMULA VISITS ZAGREB ARMY DISTRICT 20-21 OCTOBER

LD212226 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 21 Oct 83

[Text] Zagreb, 21 Oct (TANJUG)--On 20 and 21 October Admiral Branko Mamula, federal secretary for national defense, visited the Zagreb Army district and the Yugoslav People's Army (YPA) garrisons in Daruvar, Virovitica, Koprivnica, Varazdin and Cakovec.

In conversation with Colonel General Zarko Canadi, commander of the Zagreb Army district, and Colonel General Anton Spegelj, commander of territorial defense of the Socialist Republic of Croatia, Admiral Mamula was briefed on the results achieved in combat capability and building up and strengthening the moral and political state of the command, headquarters and units.

While going round YPA units in garrisons at Daruvar, Virovitica, Koprivnica, Barazdin and Cakovec, Admiral Mamula had several meetings with officers and men. In doing so, he took particular interest in the combat capability of units and commands, the living conditions of men and officers in these garrisons, and in the implementation of measures of economic stabilization and thrift in army conditions, as well as in many other matters. Admiral Mamula stated on this occasion that he was satisfied with the level of combat training of units and commands, and with their moral and political unity, as well as with the results achieved in implementing measures of economic stabilization and thrift, but that further efforts must be exerted in this respect to achieve results of higher quality.

The federal secretary for national defense was briefed in the daily work organization in Daruvar on the implementation of the economic stabilization program and the defense preparations of this collective. Admiral Mamula talked with representatives of sociopolitical communities and organizations of the Daruvar, Virovitica, Varazdin and Cakovec municipalities about the implementation of the concept of all-people's defense and social self-protection, about cooperation between YPA members and citizens and about socioeconomic trends.

Colonel General Ilija Radakovic and Colonel General Milan Daljevic, assistant federal secretaries, and Lieutenant Colonel General Pavelsuc accompanied the federal secretary for national defense on his visit to the Zagreb Army district.

At the end of his 2-day working visit to the Zagreb Army district Admiral Mamula had a brief meeting in Zagreb with Milutin Baltic, president of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Croatia, and Josip Vrhovec, president of the Presidium of the Croatian LC Central Committee.

CSO: 2800/61

SLOVENE BODY SCORES DEVELOPMENT PLAN AS INSULAR

AU201436 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 19 Oct 83 p 6

[D. Damjanovic report]

[Excerpts] According to the first critical assessments and the attitudes presented yesterday at the session of the commission for ideological and theoretical work in the sphere of socioeconomic relations of the Slovene LC Central Committee Presidium, the study on the long-term development of Slovenia up to year 2000 should undergo changes, because the project "Slovenia 2000," for the elaboration of which 47 million dinars have been spent, includes ideological and technical mistakes.

As was said, the project is insufficiently based on the assessment of the present degree of development and insufficiently portrays the relations between the development of Slovenia and of Yugoslavia. It was literally stated that the authors' mistake is in trying to force upon Slovenia a special complete economic area with its own starting points of development. They sometimes forget that Slovenia is a part of the federal community of Yugoslav peoples and nationalities. For this reason--as was pointed out--it is meaningless to view the development without considering the overall Yugoslav social and economic situation.

Truly, the authors of the study occasionally speak in favor of a common Yugoslav development policy, but fail to present their concepts of how to include their program of development of Slovenia into development projects of the overall Yugoslav social community. The study also fails to give assessments of the inclusion of the Slovene socioeconomic sphere in the Yugoslav one and the reasons for this inclusion.

The Central Committee Presidium of the LC of Slovenia will soon discuss the "Slovenia 2000" project, the coordinator of which was the Republican Committee for Social Planning but its initiator has not been officially known, as if there is no one behind the project except its authors.

CSO: 2800/61



## BRIEFS

NEW CANADIAN AMBASSADOR--Vidoje Zarkovic, vice president of the SFRY Presidency has received the credentials of John MacLeod Fraser, newly appointed ambassador of Canada to the SFRY. [Summary] [AU182100 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 30 Sep 83 p 2]

NEW ENVOY TO HUNGARY--Belgrade--Mika Spiljak, president of the SFRY Presidency, has received Milovan Zidar, newly appointed ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the SFRY to the Hungarian People's Republic, prior to his departure for the new post. [Text] [AU182100 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 11 Oct 83]

NEW ENVOY TO ETHIOPIA--Belgrade, 24 Oct (TANJUG)--Mika Spiljak, president of the SFRY Presidency, today received Nusret Seferovic, newly-appointed SFRY ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary in socialist Ethiopia, before the latter's departure to take up his duties. [Text] [LD241044 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0923 GMT 24 Oct 83]

DEPARTING AMBASSADOR TO HUNGARY--Pal Losonczi, president of the Hungarian Presidential Council, has received in a farewell visit Milan Veres, Yugoslav ambassador in Budapest, and presented him the Order of Flag of the Hungarian People's Republic. [Text] [AU231531 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 15-16 OCT 83 p 7]

PRC VICE MINISTER--Mijat Sukovic, vice president of the Federal Executive Council, yesterday received Wei Mingui, PRC vice minister of electronic industry, who leads a delegation of his country at a regular session of the Yugoslav-Chinese Mixed Commission for Scientific-Technical Cooperation. During the talks the results of the past cooperation in this field were positively assessed. Both sides expressed satisfaction over the successfully concluded talks between the two delegations, during which the text of the protocol on scientific-technical cooperation between the two countries in the 1983-1984 period was coordinated. [Text] [AU231531 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 19 Oct 83 p 7]

CROATIAN TU PRESIDENT ELECTED--Zagreb, 16 Oct--At the session of the Council of the Croatian Trade Union Federation today, Ivan Puskaric, hitherto member of the Presidium, was elected president of the Council Presidium of the Croatian Trade Union Federation for a 1-year term of office. [Summary] [AU231531 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 17 Oct 83 p 3]

DEFENSE SECRETARIAT LCY OFFICIAL--The Committee of the LCY Organization in the Federal Secretariat for National Defense has elected Kemal Korajlic as its new president. Vojislav Mikic, heretofore president of the committee, will take up another post. [Excerpt] [AU231531 Belgrade NARODNA ARMIJA in Serbo-Croatian No 2309 13 Oct 83 p 6]

RADIO YUGOSLAVIA BROADCASTING CENTER--As is expected, the new short wave broadcasting center, which is being built near Bijeljina, will begin work in 1986. It will consist of four transmitters of 500 kilowatts each and of a great antenna system of 43 antennas. When completed, the center will make the reception of the Radio Yugoslavia program possible throughout the world. [Text] [AU231531 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 14 Oct 83 p 1]

NEW AMBASSADOR TO PERU--Belgrade, 21 Oct (TANJUG)--By order of the SFRY Presidency, Alija Vejzagic, hitherto chairman of the Commission for International Relations of the Assembly of Bosnia-Herzegovina, has been appointed the new SFRY ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the Republic of Peru. [Text] [LD240421 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0830 GMT 21 Oct 83]

NEW ENVOY TO LEBANON--Belgrade, 20 Oct (TANJUG)--By decree of the SFRY Presidency, Dragoslav Pejic, hitherto foreign policy advisor to the president of the SFRY Presidency, has been appointed SFRY ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the Republic of Lebanon. [Text] [LD240421 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1248 GMT 20 Oct 83]

SFRY-USSR SCIENTIFIC-TECHNICAL COOPERATION--Belgrade, 21 Oct (TANJUG)--The eighth session of the working group for cooperation in the sphere of transport of the Inter-Governmental Yugoslav-Soviet Committee for Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation ended in Belgrade today. A protocol was signed on further measures to be taken to promote transport of goods in mutual trade which is continually increasing and which has reached a level of some 16 million metric tons. In addition to transport problems, talks were also held on the capabilities of Yugoslav producers of railroad cars and river-going ships. The Soviet delegation visited the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina. [Text] [LD240421 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1312 GMT 21 Oct 83]

RADIO, TV EXERCISE--Zagreb, 22 Oct (TANJUG)--A 2-day exercise entitled "Yugoslav Radio-Television 83" has been held in Radio-Television Zagreb as the first part of a general military exercise for all Yugoslav radio and broadcasting centers. Analysis and evaluation of the tasks executed in conditions of possible immediate danger of war and possible war, in the given situations, revealed a high level of capability on the part of those participating in the exercise to carry out successfully the information and propaganda tasks

under such conditions, in terms of programs, technology and organization. The exercise was monitored directly by representatives of the republican Secretariat for National Defense, the republican Committee for Information, representatives of Yugoslav Radio and Television and of the assemblies of Radio-Television Zagreb, and representatives of the self-managing organs and socio-political organizations of Radio-Television Zagreb. [Text] [LD240421 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1321 GMT 22 Oct 83]

AGREEMENT ON LEGAL ASSISTANCE--Vienna, 22 Oct (TANJUG)--Yugoslavia and Austria today, Saturday, ratified an agreement on legal assistance in criminal cases, the extradition of convicted persons and the mutual enforcement of court decisions in criminal matters. The agreement, signed here today by official representatives of the two countries, will take effect on January 1, 1984. Under the agreement on mutual enforcement of court decisions in criminal matters, sentenced persons can seek to serve the sentence in their home country. In this way, as the Austrian press writes, contacts with relatives will be facilitated as will the return of former convicts to society. The newspaper WIENER ZEITUNG sets out that the agreement is the first of its kind Austria has concluded with any state. [Text] [Belgrade TANJUG in English 1617 GMT 22 Oct 83 LD]

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